

APRIL 16, 1979

\$1.25

**ATOMS & OIL**  
What's Ahead

# TIME

## ISLAM

### The Militant Revival





# “Us Tareyton smokers would rather light than fight!”

Your present filter is only doing half the job, because it doesn't have Tareyton's activated charcoal filtration. There is no substitute for Tareyton lights.



Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Tareyton lights: 8 mg. "tar", 0.7 mg. nicotine; Tareyton long lights: 9 mg. "tar", 0.8 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

# BREWED TO TASTE THE SAME ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC.



Tuborg is brewed in America to taste the same as Grøn Tuborg of Denmark.

And each bottle and can of Tuborg Gold carries a Certificate of Authenticity to prove it. It's the only document of its kind in the world.

If you want the true taste of one of the world's great beers at an affordable price, go for the gold. Tuborg Gold.

Because it's brewed to taste the same on both sides of the Atlantic.

## WE'VE PROVED OUR TASTE IS TRUE TO ITS NAME.

## A Letter from the Publisher

"From Casablanca and Algiers to Tehran and Karachi, Islam is reasserting itself as a counterpoint to Western influence," began a lengthy query cabled earlier this year from TIME's editorial offices in New York to 16 bureaus throughout the world. "We want to examine Islam's resurgence, not simply as another faith but as a political force and potent third ideology competing with Marxism and Western culture in the world today."

Back came reports from more than two dozen correspondents, who visited medinas and mosques, and interviewed sultans and emirs, desert tribesmen and professors of Islamic culture. The result is this week's Special Report on Islam, a sweeping exploration of one of the world's great faiths, with side trips through the life of Muhammad, the words of the Koran, and the ancient justice of the Shari'a (Islam's code of law).

This story is the latest chapter in TIME's half-century tradition of reducing to comprehensible dimensions subjects that readers might find dauntingly broad and perplexing. That practice began with a 1928 look at The American People, and has in recent years included Judaism (1972), Capitalism (1975) and Socialism (1978). Islam merited such treatment, says Associate Editor Marguerite Johnson, who wrote the main cover story, because "the Iranian revolution has made it especially important

for Westerners to understand the driving energy and devotion Islam commands from so many." Correspondent Dean Breilis was given a vivid example of that devotion when he visited a Bedouin village in the Sahara for this week's story. Reports Breilis: "An elderly Bedouin invited me to his home and showed me a bright turquoise-blue wall that was covered with primitive but happy paintings that depicted a ship loaded with people, and then a dark cube surrounded by birds and flowers. The entire frieze conveyed a kind of ecstatic vision. The old man explained, his wrinkled face breaking into a happy smile: 'I made the hajj [the pilgrimage to Mecca that every Muslim is encouraged to make at least once in his lifetime]. And I wanted all my Bedouin brothers to share and value it with me. So I drew this, and when I am gone it will be here as part of the village.'"

Senior Editor John Elson, who was in charge of the Special Report, first began to appreciate the pervasiveness of the faith while serving as TIME's religion writer from 1962 to 1966. "Islam has been so frequently misunderstood," contends Elson, "partly because so many people have tried to apply terms from Christianity and Judaism to it. What we have attempted to do is give a succinct but complete picture of a phenomenon that is not merely a faith, but a way of ordering society."



Associate Editor Johnson

*John A. Meyers*

## Index

Cover: *The Call to Prayer*, painting by Jean-Léon Gérôme, courtesy Christie's London.



**40**  
**Cover:** Iran's revolution has suddenly focused Western attention on Islam. It is the world's youngest universal faith, it has 750 million believers, and it is unquestionably in the midst of an extraordinary revival. See SPECIAL REPORT.



**66**  
**Economy & Business:** Carter announces domestic crude oil decontrol in a move toward more realistic energy prices, but lays the groundwork for an epic battle with Congress over windfall profits. ▶ Labor reads the guidelines.



**22**  
**Power:** After the six-day crisis at Three Mile Island, the clean-up continues while Carter and Congress try to find out what went wrong. Does the Nuclear Regulatory Commission do enough regulating? See NATION.

### 32

#### Essay

The U.S. needs nuclear power, but the nation must now determine how much and how to get it most safely.

### 34

#### Nation

The Administration fires a rhetorical barrage on behalf of SALT. ▶ Jerry Brown is embarrassed in New Hampshire.

### 57

#### World

Israel and Egypt press the peace process. ▶ Pakistan hangs Bhutto. ▶ Italy's Communists want power, won't get it.

### 76

#### Art

An important show of early 20th century sculpture at New York's Guggenheim Museum is just plain delightful.

### 80

#### Environment

Using means more subtle than those of his ancestors, a handsome Englishman strives to help tribal people.

### 82

#### Sexes

While Mamma wears combat boots, who minds the baby? In the liberated U.S. Army, a G.I. househusband, that's who.

### 85

#### Law

A reprieve saves Murderer John Evans, but more executions are coming. ▶ Carter seeks new private rights.

### 88

#### Sport

Baseball's happiest millionaire—and he deserves it—is Dave Parker, prize outfielder of the Pirates and the sport's best player.

### 97

#### Show Business

Jaws Director Steven Spielberg is making 1941, a "crazy" movie about World War II invasion panic in California.

### 100

#### Education

Blacks on campus are still isolated, but more interested in careers than demonstrations. ▶ Harvard's Bok vs. divestiture.

### 118

#### Press

Unlike the press lords of the past, today's tamer versions would rather let their audiences tell them what to do.

### 7 Letters

#### 12 American Scene

#### 94 Theater

#### 96 People

#### 99 Milestones

#### 107 Cinema

#### 112 Books





**It's going to take  
a mutual effort to  
save this arm.  
A Liberty Mutual  
effort.**

This man is an accident victim.

The struggle to regain full use of his damaged arm involves countless hours of hard work and intensive therapy. But he won't have to go through it alone.

His efforts will be supported by the Liberty Mutual Rehabilitation Center. Established 36 years ago, the Center has helped thousands of people recover to lead productive lives.

We put a lot of effort into rehabilitation. Mutual effort made possible by the 17,000 employees and more than one million policyholders who together make up Liberty Mutual.

*Feeling safe.*

*Feeling secure.*

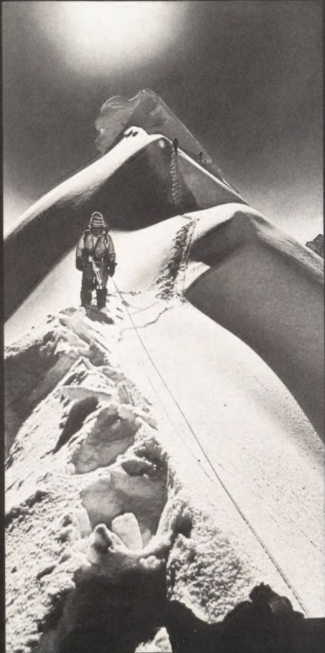
*It's a mutual feeling.*

**LIBERTY  
MUTUAL**



Liberty Mutual Insurance Company, Liberty Mutual Fire Insurance Company,  
Liberty Life Assurance Company of Boston. Home Office: Boston. © 1979.

# Nikon cameras make history on the second tallest mountain in the world



© Nikon Inc. 1979

When you're out to make history, you don't take chances on your camera. You go with Nikon.

On September 6, 1978, two Americans stood at the summit of the second highest mountain on earth and took pictures with their Nikon cameras. Together with their fellow members of the 1978 American K2 Expedition they had conquered the 28,250-foot peak, following a route so dangerous it had repelled all previous attempts.

Photography was one of the expedition's chief objectives. And, knowing the rugged reliability of Nikon cameras from personal experience, the team chose Nikon equipment exclusively. The same compact Nikon FM and automatic FE cameras you can buy, with only minor preparation for the extraordinary temperatures they had to withstand. Small, light and easy to handle, they proved their utter reliability and incredible ruggedness in temperatures of 40° below zero, intensified by up to 70-mile-an-hour winds. The magnificent photographs they brought back—almost 600 rolls of film—document one of the supreme human achievements of our time.

The cameras that went to the Roof of the World can help you make the most of your adventures, too. Their reliable electronic exposure metering (simple one-step control in the Nikon FM; automatic in the FE)—their compact, lightweight convenience and wide-ranging Nikon system versatility can be yours for a lot less than you'd expect to pay for Nikon quality. See your Nikon dealer (he's listed in the Yellow Pages). Ask him also about the traveling Nikon School. Or write to Nikon Inc., Dept. N-4, Garden City, N.Y. 11530. Subsidiary of Ehrenreich Photo-Optical Industries, Inc. (IPO) (In Canada: Nikon Division, Anglophoto Ltd., P.Q.).

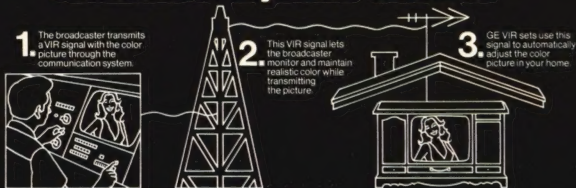


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**For the events of your life.**

Ask Your Nikon Dealer About Cash Rebates On Nikon FM/FE Cameras And Nikkor Lenses.

NIKKOR OFFICIAL  
TEAM CAMERA  
1980 SUMMER  
OLYMPIC GAMES

# GENERAL ELECTRIC TELEVISION TECHNOLOGY IS CHANGING THE WAY AMERICA ADJUSTS COLOR.



Cabinet of genuine hardwood solids, distressed oak veneers and simulated wood accents.

In 1977 General Electric won an Emmy for being the first to use the broadcaster's VIR color signal in home television. The GE VIR set uses the signal, broadcast with many programs, to adjust color distortions which may occur as the color signal passes from the broadcaster, through TV communication systems, to your home.

Flesh tones, backgrounds, blue skies and green grass are automatically adjusted for you by the computer-like circuitry in your GE VIR set.

An incredible sixty times a second, giving you vivid lifelike colors.

And all GE VIR sets have a 100% solid-state modular chassis and the In-Line picture tube system pioneered by GE.

See a demonstration of GE VIR television technology today. We're changing the way America adjusts color.



**VIR**  
BROADCAST  
CONTROLLED  
COLOR

This is GE Performance Television.

GENERAL  ELECTRIC



Now that our new blast furnace  
is on stream at Sparrows Point,  
what's to stop us from building more?

**The price tag.** This new blast furnace at our Sparrows Point Plant in Maryland cost more than \$200 million. That's one of the largest single capital investments Bethlehem has ever made. We'd like to build other modern steelmaking facilities, but our resources are limited. In recent years, the steel industry has found it difficult to generate sufficient funds to invest in all the newer and more productive facilities desired. Steel imports dumped into our country, soaring costs, and heavy environmental demands have all taken their toll on profits.

Solutions to these and other problems will help us generate additional funds for capital investment... help us adopt new technology wherever practical to cut our costs and improve our profitability. Bethlehem will continue to seek those solutions.

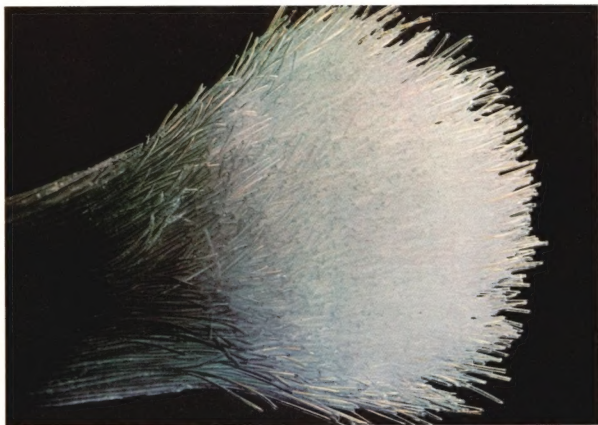
**Bethlehem**



Bethlehem, PA 18016



# For thousands of Americans with kidney disease, these are the threads of life.



*Hollow fibers that are part of an artificial kidney made with a chemical developed by Phillips Petroleum.*

Most doctors agree, the best treatment for a patient with severe and permanent kidney failure is the surgical transplant of a healthy kidney from a donor.

But some patients are just not suited for a transplant. Others may need time to recover from the trauma of their kidney failure before they are ready for surgery. Or they must be maintained until a suitable donor is found.



*Disposable, artificial kidneys can take over when human kidneys fail.*

So for thousands of people whose kidneys have failed, an artificial kidney machine is the only hope for survival.

At the heart of these remarkable

machines is a unique, disposable "kidney," that's made with a chemical developed by Phillips Petroleum. It consists of thousands of fine, hollow fibers, specially designed to remove excess fluid and impurities from the blood stream.

These fibers are so effective, a patient's entire blood supply can be purified by spending just a few hours on an artificial kidney machine, two or three times a week.

So thousands of hospital-based outpatients who are waiting for a healthy kidney from a donor can now lead full and productive lives.

Developing lifesaving chemicals while we make fine products for your car. That's performance. From Phillips Petroleum.

**The Performance Company**





# ITALIANS FEEL YOUR CAR SEAT SHOULD BE THE MOST COMFORTABLE SEAT YOU OWN.



It makes perfect sense. After all, in a car you're not sitting still, you're traveling.

If you drive only 15,000 miles a year, you could spend more than 400 hours bouncing over bumps, ruts, and potholes. So we've designed seats for the Strada that are wide, cushiony, and "much softer" than the Rabbit's, according to Car and Driver.

## **STRADA. ITS SEATS ARE QUITE A WORK OF ART IN THEMSELVES.**

Italian-style seats. Works of soft sculpture, contoured to hold you in on turns, keep you comfortable on trips. Add Strada's fully independent suspension and a long, strenuous drive becomes a long sensuous one.

# FIAT

## **STRADA. MORE ROOM THAN THE RABBIT.**

And Strada's seats are set in an interior so spacious, there's more room than the Rabbit for passengers and cargo.

An interior so "striking," to quote Car and Driver, that it even has a "steering wheel that advances the art in small cars to a new high."

## **STRADA. LESS EXPENSIVE THAN THE RABBIT.**

And Strada has something else very few other cars have. A 24 month/24,000 mile limited power train warranty.\*

One twice as long as most economy cars. Yet, for all this, Strada is less expensive than the Rabbit.\*\*

The 1979 Fiat Strada. Beautiful. Comfortable. Original. Another Italian work of art.

**\$4888 AS SHOWN\*\***



\*There are certain limitations and exclusions. See your dealer for details. \*\*1979 mfr's suggested retail prices. Local taxes, title, transportation and dealer prep. not included. For the name of the dealer nearest you, call toll-free: (800) 447-4700, or in Illinois, (800) 322-4400.



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## **STRADA. ANOTHER ITALIAN WORK OF ART.**

## Letters

### Salaam/Shalom

To the Editors:

There may be very valid reasons why we should not send Jimmy Carter back to the White House in 1980. But for the moment, let us all stand up and applaud what this man has done in the Middle East [March 26].

*Jeffrey Scott Morosoff  
Massapequa Park, N.Y.*

What bothers me more than giving away \$5 billion plus in these times of our own economic necessities is knowing that the lion's share is going toward more and more weapons and military might—all in the name of peace.

*James H. Bott  
Alton, Ill.*



Measured in terms of its cost on a daily basis, the \$5 billion price tag attached to the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty comes to about 1½¢ a day for each of us. That is low-cost insurance.

*Rick Berkoff  
Grand Beach, Mich.*

Beautiful! President Carter has guaranteed oil to Israel for the next 15 years. We should be so lucky.

*Shirley S. Hill  
Hamilton, Ohio*

This Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty can only cause more bitterness: Arab against Arab, as well as Arab against Israeli. President Sadat, despite good intentions, does not represent all Arabs.

*Jane Meyer  
Lebanon, Ohio*

### Detroit's Better Way

Your article on Detroit's "Total Revolution" [March 19] should have been titled "Detroit Tries to Catch Up." The only really new automotive engineering has been done overseas. I've been driving a German car with the new front-wheel

## Sterling lady.

She's an outstanding office temporary. You can tell by her sterling silver necklace by Tiffany.

She earned it with excellent on-the-job performances as evaluated by our customers. Evaluations that cover such factors as skills, adaptability and self-motivation.

Not surprisingly, more than 10,000 Manpower temporaries have already earned our Stand-out Stand-in Award. The reason: our unique Predictable Performance System enables us to select the right temporary for your needs and office environment.

Whenever you have more work than workers, call us. We'll provide an award winner. Or someone on her way to becoming one.



**MANPOWER**  
TEMPORARY SERVICES



# Northwest...fastest to the Orient.



**With the only nonstops  
from Chicago and Seattle/Tacoma.**

Not only the fastest, but the most comfortable. Some other airlines are squeezing an extra seat into every row in Economy on 747s. But not Northwest. We still give you comfortable nine-across seating in Economy. That means wider seats, wider armrests, more comfort all around.

With exclusive nonstops from Chicago or Seattle, plus, daily direct service from New York City, Washington, D.C., Minneapolis/St. Paul, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Honolulu.

En route, you'll enjoy Northwest's famous Regal Imperial service—our very best. **Save 40% or more** to Hong Kong, Manila or Taipei with our Pacific Budget Fare. Call for details.

Northwest also serves Osaka, Seoul and Okinawa.

For complete fare information and reservations, call a travel agent or Northwest. Pay for your air fare with the American Express card.

## FLIGHT 3 FASTEST FROM THESE CITIES

Atlanta	Hartford	Pittsburgh
Boston	Indianapolis	Rochester, MN
Chicago	Louisville	Rochester, NY
Cincinnati	Madison	St. Louis
Cleveland	Miami/Ft. Lauderdale	Tampa/St. Pete
Columbus	Milwaukee	Washington, D.C.
Detroit	New Orleans	Plus many more!

## FLIGHT 7 FASTEST FROM THESE CITIES

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Portland	Spokane	
St. Paul		

Also: Daily 747 service from New York, Washington D.C., San Francisco, Los Angeles and Honolulu.

## FLIGHT 3: Daily 747 service from Chicago

LEAVE CHICAGO		ARRIVE TOKYO (Next day)
11:50 am	NONSTOP	4:00 pm

## FLIGHT 4: Daily 747 return service to Chicago

LEAVE TOKYO		ARRIVE CHICAGO (Same day)
4:45 pm	NONSTOP	1:00 pm

## FLIGHT 7: Daily 747 service from Seattle/Tacoma

LEAVE SEATTLE/TACOMA		ARRIVE TOKYO (Next day)
1:50 pm	NONSTOP	5:00 pm

## FLIGHT 8: Daily 747 return service to Seattle/Tacoma

LEAVE TOKYO		ARRIVE SEATTLE/TACOMA (Same day)
6:00 pm	NONSTOP	9:30 am



**NORTHWEST ORIENT**  
The wide-cabin airline

## MAN AND HIS GOLD, A SERIES

© The Gold Information Center.



# Gold of the common man.

It is Eastern Europe in the 19th Century and a family, its sparse belongings on a battered cart, arrives at a lonely border station.

A man from the group approaches the sentry with inner fear, for they have no permit or papers. There follows a brief exchange and the man returns.

The cart and family pass. The sentry, turning to avoid the eyes of the refugees, tucks one hand into his pocket; the gold coin there is still warm from the hand of its previous owner.

Sweeping through history one could find endless variations of this incident because gold, that lustrous metal of kings and clergy, has just as often been the metal of the downtrodden. Somewhere around 700 B.C., kings began to stamp gold into coins, and in that form they became accessible to the common man.

This was the gold of the common soldier, the gold of the common merchant, and even families who never knew a gold bracelet or necklace were able to acquire a few coins—which they often hoarded for it meant survival in the periodic upheavals.

Certainly one of the early coins of the common man was the *Daric*

of Persia (No. 1 above) in the 5th Century B.C. It was heavily minted for over 200 years and it is known that one military campaign alone cost over 4 million of the coin.

The *Aureus* of the Roman Empire was also widely dispersed through the heavy spending of the Caesars. The example here (No. 2) is from Nero's reign.

One of the longest and most circulated of coinages was the *Zecchino* of Venice (No. 3), first struck in 1284 and minted for over 500 years. It is almost incredible to reflect that its coinage began in the Middle Ages, spanned the Renaissance, and ended in 1797, the year America installed its second President.

With the 19th Century came even grander coinage and the numbers are truly astounding: France, from 1801 to 1914, minted 515 million of its 20 Franc *Napoleon* (No. 4); England, from 1817 to 1966, coined over one billion of its *Sovereign* (No. 5), spreading it to every corner of a once extensive empire.

America's gold coinage began modestly, but enriched by the 1849 Gold Rush, the U.S. accelerated the program and from 1850 to 1932 produced, with several design changes, its famous \$20 *Double Eagle* (No. 6),

a minting of over 174 million.

It should be noted that considerably lesser numbers of these extensive mintages exist; most were re-melted—in many cases to mint succeeding coins—thus the remaining coins have gained great value among collectors.

The desire to hold gold coins continues. For example, in 1977, 46 countries issued over 80 different versions as legal tender. Among them, the South African *Kruggerand* (No. 7) ranks as the most popular. First coined in 1967, over 22 million have been produced since then.

Space here has permitted only the briefest description of seven gold coins of great mass circulation. There are, of course, many more. The world has issued more than 20 thousand different types in over 2,600 years—many of which have also touched the common man and certainly the family history of almost everyone who reads this.

All coins are shown actual size. This advertisement is part of a series produced in the interest of a wider knowledge of man's most precious metal. For more information, write to The Gold Information Center, Department T39, P.O. Box 1269, FDR Station, New York, N.Y. 10022.

## The Gold Information Center.

Certain coins furnished courtesy of Harmer Rooke Ltd., N.Y., and Manfra, Tordella & Brookes, Inc., N.Y.

5 mg. "tar", 0.5 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.

© 1979 R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.

# NEW DORAL II

Now only 5 mg tar.  
No other cigarette with  
this little tar...

...has this much taste.



ONLY **5** MG TAR

Get what you never had before:  
Satisfaction with ultra-low tar.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined  
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.



## Letters

drive for four years, and the stratified charge engine has been available from Japan for some time.

Vincent Griesener  
Fort Collins, Colo.

Innovations like reducing the weight of vehicles are being made in the name of gas conservation, while the safety factor is being ignored. The American public is gradually succumbing to cars resembling no more than cardboard boxes; one accident and it's all over.

Lucy P. Horn  
Wayne, Pa.

Just as streamlining will not improve the performance of a rocking chair, it will not improve the efficiency of an automobile. Performance of a vehicle will not be affected until it reaches at least 50 m.p.h. With a national highway speed limit set at 55 m.p.h., aerodynamically "slippery" cars designed to achieve better fuel economy are meaningless.

Stanley Placek  
Chicago

Diesel may not be the way to go. Given the high aromatic content of diesel fuel and its propensity for creating particulates, chemical intuition suggests that it would be surprising if diesel exhaust did not contain appreciable amounts of first-rate carcinogens. As a professor of physical chemistry, I for one would like to see the medical studies precede deployment this time.

Ferren MacIntyre  
Saunderstown, R.I.

### Paradise Lost?

Yes, it's mostly true what you say about Maui [March 26], but there are some flaws in Paradise: the tourists are so thick on West Maui that they get into each other's snapshots. Fortunately, the island is critically dependent upon the jets flying. If oil slows, the happy squeals will be from the residents able finally to rust in peace.

Paul Joel Freeman  
Lahaina, Hawaii

Paradise is relative. To smogbound nest foulers from the mainland, it's Maui. To the people who live here, Paradise would be getting back our island and our way of life.

Beverly Johnson  
Lahaina, Hawaii

### Foreign Aid Lives

It's a joy to see the scarred banner of foreign aid raised again [March 26]. Battered from the right in the '50s, from the left in the '60s, and forgotten by the Me Generation, it has somehow survived.

Reorganization of its administration sounds right, but not by the late Hubert Humphrey's plan of adding another spe-

cialized agency that deals with foreign affairs and finance, yet is not accountable to either the State or Treasury departments. That's streamlining? Help!

Joy C. Thornton  
Los Angeles

Your Essay on foreign aid overlooks the damage to U.S. industry and labor. Thousands of Americans are out of jobs because many of the countries that received aid in the past and many that are still receiving it are underselling our suppliers in such items as electronics, textiles, clothing, steel, copper, shoes and automobiles. Foreign aid is an indirect subsidy to our competitors.

Morton E. Milliken  
Huachuca City, Ariz.

### Politics and Oil Prices

The oil-exporting countries could put President Carter out of office if they wanted to [March 19]. All they would have to do is raise the price of oil to the point where our economy goes berserk, and he, or any President they did not like, would be voted out of office.

Kenneth Amesbury  
Tyndall A.F.B., Fla.

In the past, America has aided almost any nation in need, including the OPEC countries. But now, when we are suffering an oil shortage, our friends backstab us by boosting prices and cutting supplies. I look forward to the day when alternative energy sources replace fossil fuels and Americans can tell the OPEC and other oil-producing countries just where they can put their petroleum.

Stephen Kubala  
Austin, Texas

### Camus's Last Judgment

In your review of the biography of Albert Camus [March 19] you stated that one sentence in *The Fall*, Camus's last published novel, sums up a life and a work: "Don't wait for the Last Judgment. It takes place every day." I wonder if Camus read Kafka, who expressed a strikingly similar existential thought when he wrote: "Only our concept of time makes it possible for us to speak of the Day of Judgment by that name: in reality it is a summary court in perpetual session."

B.D. Bounds  
Barlottesville, Okla.

### Hot Words Over Dumping

Re your article "Hot Duel Over Dumping" [March 26]: dumping by Japanese exporters has been going on for years. Part of the trouble is the attitude of our State and Justice Departments, which penalize violators with \$1,000 or \$2,000 fines, even while they rip off millions in profit and hurt our economy tremendously. Congress, manufacturers as-

sociations and various chambers of commerce with their country club atmosphere are to blame as well.

Arthur Spitzer  
Beverly Hills, Calif.

Foreign traders acquainted with Japan knew all too well about dumping, kickbacks and the activity of industrial consortiums with tax moratoriums and government subsidies. We need a friendly Japan, to be sure, but devastating American industries one at a time isn't the way to be friendly.

John T. Burnite Jr.  
Orlando, Fla.

### Ironies of ERA

I was sorry that in your story on the states that have equal rights provisions in their constitutions [March 26] there was no reference to the irony of how well ERA (Article I, Section 18 of the Illinois constitution) is working in a state that refused to ratify the federal amendment.

Elizabeth F. Canfield  
Rockford, Ill.

For months we have been bombarded with articles about states rejecting the Equal Rights Amendment or attempting to rescind their previous approval.

I am a resident of one of the 14 states that have equal rights in their constitutions, and I know that the reality is not that terrible; in fact, it is very, very good. It works.

Ann Isenberg  
State College, Pa.

### Ice Break for the Taxpayer

As a lifelong resident of the Great Lakes area, I was particularly interested in your American Scene article on the Coast Guard icebreaker *MacIntaw*'s efforts for U.S. Steel [March 19]. Local newspapers frequently carry stories about how this or that Great Lakes freighter got trapped in the ice trying to make "one last run" before the winter freeze set in. Of course, a Coast Guard cutter always rushes to the rescue, fueled by taxpayers' dollars.

If a pleasure craft needed such a rescue from certain winter disaster, the owner would probably be fined.

(The Rev.) Patrick H. O'Leary, S.J.  
Cleveland

The toll-free Government locks at Sault Ste. Marie are another disguised subsidy to the steel industry. There should be a toll at the Soo Locks similar to that imposed upon cargo passing through the Panama Canal.

William D. Lewis  
Westerville, Ohio

Address Letters to **TIME**, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020



Sun lovers, sprouting condominiums, glorious beach and an eroding sea wall in South Padre Island

## American Scene

### In Texas: Building Castles on the Sand

Gently but relentlessly, the waves of the Gulf of Mexico pound the powdery white sand of the barrier reef off Texas' coast. The clear green water, and the silt and sand it has deposited over the centuries, created Padre Island, and have made it an increasingly popular vacation paradise. Yet what the waves have given, they are now taking away. Gently but relentlessly, Padre Island seems to be falling into the sea.

Most of the bow-shaped island, stretching 100 miles from the Mexican border to Corpus Christi, is either undeveloped dunes or federally protected national seashore. But at the island's southern tip is South Padre Island, a town of 700 permanent residents and, on weekends, as many as 50,000 sun seekers. Only 20 miles from Mexico via the causeway to Brownsville, South Padre has a comparable latitude—and, partisans assert, a more congenial climate—than Miami. Says former Mayor John Austin, a retired Marine Corps major and avid fisherman: "I really think the possibilities here are unlimited." Not surprisingly, the town is alive with the sound of bulldozers, and spanking new condominiums are sprouting like dune grass. Eight buildings with 306 condominium units are under construction, and 116 more units are on the way. "We're on the grow," boasts City Manager Kirby Lilljedahl. "We had \$8 million in new construction last year, and 1979 could well double that."

Of all South Padre's assets, the greatest is its beach, wide and powdery, running from the sprouting condominiums to the sea. In Texas, unlike many resort areas, the beaches belong to the people. A person may own land to the water's edge but may not fence off or build on the beach itself. Virtually everybody in South Padre supports that concept. Says Lilljedahl:

"Without these fine beaches for people to use, we're nothing but a pile of sand."

Along these fine beaches, on a glorious spring weekend with the temperature well over the April average of 74°, there was the usual invasion of fraternity T shirts, beer chests and Frisbees, along with the reddening student bodies that came with them. There were young families from Texas and Oklahoma, and from as far away as Colorado. There was the weekly jetload of Canadians brought by SunTours of Toronto. And there was room enough in the sun for them all.

But coastal erosion is a national problem; one-quarter of the nation's shores are suffering serious erosion, and a number of resort areas, such as Miami Beach, have been ravaged. Padre is no exception. "The shoreline of South Padre Island has been retreating at least since the late 1800s," wrote University of Texas Geologist Robert Morton in a 1975 report. "At many points, rates of erosion increased between 1960 and 1969, with parts of the island experiencing extreme erosion." Separate studies last year by the state's general land office and researchers at Texas A & M University confirmed the problem.

The construction in 1935 of jetties at the mouth of the Rio Grande, at the very southern tip of the island, has paid off with some local accumulation of sand. The southern half of the town's developed area, which includes a large Hilton hotel and condominiums, currently has no problems with erosion. But just a mile up the road, where much of the new development is taking place, the island is getting smaller and smaller. In the past century, according to the Texas bureau of economic geology, the land disappeared at an average rate of 12 ft. a year.

If nothing can be done to stop the erosion, the wide swath of beach that makes

Padre a paradise will be the first victim. Then the sprouting condominiums, sold to sun-loving families from across the country, could themselves be endangered.

So last May the state attorney general's office "descended" on the town, as some locals put it, and began forcing developers to build farther back from the sea. Previously, buildings had been allowed as close as 200 ft. from the water. Now construction can take place only up to the line where natural vegetation meets the beach. This strict enforcement of the state's open beaches law has led to heated disputes over where the nebulous vegetation line actually lies. Says Lilljedahl: "It's been a state of chaos."

Former Mayor Austin, who is now a local real estate broker, describes what happened when he went with an assistant state attorney general to a site bought by a Canadian developer. "I was standing more than 200 ft. from the water. I thought this was the point we could start building. But this young fuzzy-cheeked assistant A.G. was way up in the dunes, maybe 30 ft. behind me. 'What the hell you doing up there?' I asked. He says, 'I'm looking for the vegetation line.'"

The developer was not allowed to build as close to the sea as he had planned. Most developers with the state would simply decree a building line. But the attorney general's office insists that because the shoreline is eroding, it is impossible to establish a permanent line, and developers should be kept as far back from the water as the law dictates.

James Marston, 26, a lanky, soft-spoken Texas native who graduated from New York University Law School, is the "fuzzy-cheeked" nemesis assigned by the attorney general's office to South Padre Island. Says he: "The people who come here

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## American Scene

and buy land or condominium units don't really know what the apparent dangers are from erosion or hurricanes. Some developers are farsighted enough to protect both the general public and their buyers, but others seem only concerned with making a fast buck and getting out."

As Marston walks along the beach, he points out a sea wall, once well back from the water, now torn apart by the waves. His office tries to work out accommodations with builders who have encroached on the beach or who find the receding beach threatening their structures. "We're not into tearing down expensive buildings," says Marston. "We try to negotiate equitable arrangements. In two instances where we felt developers were building too close to the sea and encroaching on public beach, we had them buy adjoining lots and donate them for public use, rather than forcing them to demolish their investments."

One adversary of the state's protective urge does not find these accommodations reasonable. "It's amazing people developed this great fear for our beaches only last year, when for 20 years no one has been denied the use of a beach or had his condominium washed away," says Paul Cunningham, 36, a nattily dressed lawyer for the town's biggest developments. He is also South Padre city attorney and a part owner of the luxurious Hilton con-

dominiums, which have sold out even before completion of construction. "There's not a lot of proof about erosion. Some say it's 20 ft. a year, but I have not seen 20 ft disappear since 1955, when I started coming here. It's a problem no one can forecast. If I hire competent engineers and architects for a condominium, I don't think I owe any responsibility to a buyer 20 years later as long as I've disclosed to him the possible problems."

**R**obert Hanmore moved his development firm to South Padre from Florida a few years ago when he became convinced that the island was another Gold Coast waiting to be built. He seems right at home among his construction workers, personally smoothing the concrete foundation of his newest condominium project. This development is out of the area of current beach erosion, but another one he built, a mile farther north, is in an area where there have been indications of erosion. Hanmore does not believe it: "Those condominiums have been up for two years, and I haven't seen any sign of the beach disappearing."

Rick Labunski, a young and creative South Padre architect, and Mary Lou Campbell, leader of what Cunningham calls the island's "shell and bird" environmentalists, disagree over how much should be built on the barrier reef. Says

Labunski, "Believe it or not, there are some people who do not want any development." Says Campbell: "In Texas, we have always thought there was plenty of everything, that nothing needed to be conserved. But it is really progress to destroy those natural things people have come to enjoy?" But they agree on one thing: in light of the erosion and development problems, there must be more careful planning and zoning.

City Manager Lilledahl says the only long-range hope for his island is to find a way to reverse the erosion. "Otherwise," he says, "we will disappear." Cunningham insists that with all of the resources available, a way will be found to conquer the sea's appetite. The town is about to hire an engineering firm to study solutions, such as extending the existing jetty or building groins off the shore to reduce the impact of the waves. But Geologist Morton is skeptical. "Any attempt to trap sediment on the island only works when you have a good sediment supply," he warns. "You now have a sand-starved sea because of natural forces and man-made dams on the Rio Grande. Eventually, nature will have its way." Unless, perhaps, some way can be found to control the appetite of the beautiful, pounding waves that made Padre in the first place and now attract sun-loving buyers from thousands of miles away. —Walter Isaacson

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■ Inventory all your possessions and take photos of each room to document what you have.

1. Source: U.S. Dept. of Labor. 2. Cost does not include land. Source: U.S. Dept. of Commerce.

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Night scene at Three Mile Island nuclear plant where gas bubble threatened to spew radiation into the air

TIME/APR. 16, 1979

## Now Comes the Fallout

*The White House and Congress reappraise nuclear safety*

**W**ithout warning, a second nuclear era had begun. Gone was the industry's and government's confidence of old; reappraisal and caution would now be the order of the day. The unthinkable had come perilously close to happening, causing second thoughts about the form of energy that promises to relieve dependence on ever diminishing, ever more expensive fossil fuel supplies.

For six riveting days, the nation—and the world—watched a gas bubble build up in a nuclear reactor at Three Mile Island near Harrisburg, Pa., and threaten to cause a hydrogen gas explosion that would spew radiation into the atmosphere. When the bubble finally disappeared and the danger subsided, deep relief was mingled with grave concern about the nuclear future.

Across the U.S. and abroad, protesters poured into the streets in a flashback to the strife-torn 1960s: a new cause had galvanized supporters. Proponents of nuclear energy were on the defensive, and the critics exulted in a chorus of I-told-you-so's. Addressing a crowd of 3,000 on the Boston Common, Massachusetts State Representative Richard Roche shouted, "We're in the mainstream now!" Said Brett Bursey, a leader of the antinuclear Palmetto Alliance in South Carolina, where there are four nuclear plants in operation and six under construction: "In the last few days, people have learned more about nuclear power than at any time since the inception of the industry. It's been this incred-

ibly intensive educational course."

The accident could hardly have occurred at a worse time. The U.S. now imports almost half of the oil it consumes, and the OPEC nations continued last week to sting the industrialized world with price increases, thus adding to the nation's already soaring inflation rate. The U.S. had been counting on nuclear energy to achieve a greater degree of energy independence, but the Three Mile Island accident helped demonstrate that there is no easy path to self-sufficiency. The use of each kind of energy has its own particular problems or risks. Says David Ro-

senbaum, a consultant to the General Accounting Office and a former professor of theoretical physics at Boston University: "The public has been deluded into thinking that if all the scientists just buckle down, they can figure it all out. That's not true. When you have a modern, complicated technology, you just can't calculate everything."

Washington was alive with investigations and promises of investigations to find out what went so terribly wrong at the Metropolitan Edison Co. plant. In his major energy address Thursday night, Jimmy Carter preceded his call for phased

Senator Edward Kennedy seeking answers during Senate hearings



decontrol of oil prices and a windfall tax on petroleum companies (see **ECONOMY & BUSINESS**) with the announcement that he would appoint an independent commission to look into the accident and make recommendations for improving the safety of all nuclear plants. Said the President: "You deserve a full accounting, and you will get it."

Preliminary findings by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission indicate that inexplicable human errors helped cause the breakdown at the reactor: valves carelessly closed, safety systems turned off. Said Morris Udall, chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee: "It completely baffles me as to how this could have happened."

Stealing a jump on the President, Senator Edward Kennedy conducted his own hasty investigation. His Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research summoned, among others, NRC Chairman Joseph Hendrie. Irritated by Hendrie's unflappable, all-too-cool testimony, Ken-



**HEW Secretary Califano (left) and EPA Administrator Costle testifying about radiation**

*"You deserve a full accounting," said the President, "and you will get it."*

dy complained: "I would think you would have a greater sense of anxiety than you apparently do."

Pennsylvania's Senator Richard Schweiker, the subcommittee's ranking Republican, joined the sharp questioning of Hendrie and at one point, disturbed by an account of confused procedures at the site, demanded, "Who's in control of a situation like this?" Concluded Kennedy: "Certainly this kind of process and this kind of procedure in terms of protection of the American people are completely unacceptable and completely inadequate."

Committee witnesses, like Douglas Costle, head of the Environmental Protection Agency, were more reassuring on the question of the danger to human health. NRC data showed that the largest dose of radiation anyone in the immediate area received was 80 millirems, by comparison, an average American absorbs 200 millirems each year. HEW Sec-

retary Joseph Califano testified that he expected no additional cancer deaths among the population within 50 miles of the plant. He also announced that the Food and Drug Administration was testing food, milk and river and drinking water in the vicinity of the site. No hazardous increase in radioactivity had shown up. For years to come, however, HEW will monitor the health of persons in the area. Asked what they would tell a family with small children living near the site, the witnesses were cautiously optimistic. Barring some "unforeseen difficulty," said Dr. Arthur Upton of the National Cancer Institute, "it is perfectly all right to keep the population in place." Can expectant mothers in the area drink milk? Said FDA Commissioner Donald Kennedy: Yes.

**A**ttempting to deal with a crisis that was only dimly understood, the White House, according to a staffer, "went into a state of absolute red alert." Jack Watson, presidential assistant for intergovernmental affairs, served as White House liaison with the NRC and Three Mile Island. If an administrative snag developed, Watson intervened. "There was an imperative need for flexibility and immediate response," says Watson. "As a general rule, this was followed surprisingly well."

The White House gave high marks to Harold Denton, the NRC official who finally pulled things into shape at the reactor, and to Pennsylvania's new Republican Governor, Richard Thornburgh. "We found him to be extraordinarily competent, calm and sensible," said a Carter aide. "We never worried that he would get carried away." Said Thornburgh: "I told the President we are tough people and that we'll handle it."

At the very least, the accident will set back the growth of the nuclear industry. At one extreme, New York Governor



**NRC Chairman Hendrie (above): Senator Schweiker reacting to the story of what went wrong**



Hugh Carey declared that the "nuclear future came to an end right now." He restated his opposition to building two new nuclear plants on Long Island, and the New York State Power Authority scrapped plans for the construction of a huge upstate facility. California Governor Jerry Brown asked the NRC to shut down the Rancho Seco plant near Sacramento until the reasons for the Pennsylvania accident are clearly established.

On the other hand, Illinois Governor Jim Thompson continued to support the construction of nuclear plants, though he announced that he would set up committees of experts to re-examine the state's seven reactors and devise a reaction plan in case of an accident. The Massachusetts house of representatives passed a resolution urging Congress to prohibit licensing of nuclear plants until safe methods of waste disposal were developed, but Governor Edward King declared: "I feel it is crucially important that we not let the current crisis in Pennsylvania be used to prevent the future development of this energy source that is so vital for New England."

**A**ntinuclear forces overseas were strengthened by the accident. "We all live in Pennsylvania!" shouted protesters in West Germany, where opposition is mounting to the construction of a \$7 billion nuclear waste storage plant near the East German border. In Sweden, former Prime Minister Thorbjörn Fälldin attacked Prime Minister Ola Ullsten for deciding to build two more nuclear plants and pledged that he would run for office this fall on an anti-nuclear platform. But Europe depends on imported oil for over 82% of its energy and desperately needs sources of nuclear power.

Despite the uproar, U.S. policy on nuclear energy is not expected to change significantly, although Congress is sure to demand tighter safeguards and a far more active NRC. Quietly but firmly, Carter maintained his commitment to nuclear development.

At the height of the crisis, he visited Three Mile Island with Rosalynn, in part to demonstrate that there was little risk. In private, he raged at what he felt was "irresponsible, outrageous, exaggerated" coverage of the accident by the press, and most especially television.

In a background briefing paper distributed to the press, the President advised the nation to "respond with care and reason to this accident, recognizing that 13% of our nation's electricity comes from nuclear power." A special ABC News/Louis Harris poll taken right after the President's energy speech showed a majority of 52% in favor of building more nuclear power plants, despite the incident in Pennsylvania. The mishap certainly caused a detour on the superhighway to nuclear development, but not a dead end. In nuclear power, as in many other matters of sensitive policy, there remains a safe middle road. ■



NRC's Denton, Governor Thornburgh, the Carters and plant official in control room

## Back from the Brink

*Atomic-age pioneers start their lives again*

**T**he threatening bubble had dissolved. The radiation readings outside Pennsylvania's Three Mile Island nuclear power plant were nearing normal. Slowly the nightmare was ending without anyone receiving a lethal overdose of radiation, either inside the plant or out. The 100,000 or so of the area's 650,000 residents who had left started to trickle home, although many children and pregnant women, on the advice of Governor Richard Thornburgh, were staying away until the government said flatly that the reactor that had so nearly run away was safe.

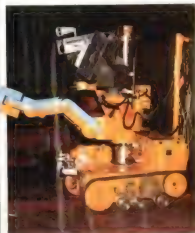
For the first time, the threat of a reactor disaster had caused a large-scale evacuation in the U.S., disrupted hundreds of thousands of lives, temporarily disabled the economy of four counties, and plainly revealed the dark side of nuclear power. The atomic-age pioneers in the rolling farmlands of Pennsylvania who had lived through the unenvying ordeal were left with emotions that ranged from simple and utter relief to seething anger at the combination of forces that had exposed them to such danger. Declared Middletown Resident Ann Martin, who felt her past belief in the safety of the plant had been betrayed: "They ought to make sure that thing never opens again. They should knock it down and give the island back to the kids and the fishermen."

With forced bravado, some sought to laugh off their experience. A radio station in the area broadcast a mock weather forecast: "Partly cloudy tomorrow with a 40% chance of survival." Another: "Two thousand degrees and bright." Yet another: "What's the five-day forecast for Harrisburg?" "Two days."

At the Elk's Bar in Middletown, just

three miles from the crippled plant, bartenders concocted a new drink combining gin, vodka and bourbon and called it the Bubble Buster, because "it melts down everything." At Dickinson College in Carlisle, 25 miles to the west, students dreamed up such T-shirt slogans as KISS ME, I'M RADIATED. Other area residents wore more defiant slogans: HELL, NO, WE WON'T GLOW. Needing the lack of scientific certainty about the effects of radiation, some T-shirt wearers proclaimed: I SURVIVED THREE MILE ISLAND—I THINK.

Neither the jokes nor the downplaying of the accident was appreciated by most of the workers who pulled on their discardable yellow boots, plastic radiation-protective overalls and hard hats, and crossed guarded bridges to put in



"Herman" warming up for his foray  
Was it "a billion-dollar mausoleum"?



## Nation

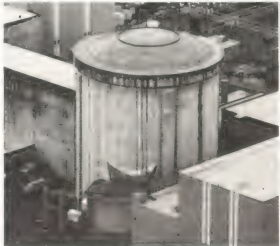
harrowing shifts at the plant throughout the period of greatest danger. For days, the engineers had not known for sure just what was happening in the overheated reactor building where radiation levels reached as high as 30,000 rems—a concentration that would instantly fry a human, like a microwave oven cooking a steak.

Even in the adjoining auxiliary building, separated by four feet of concrete and a stainless steel shield from the deadly gases, the radiation in some spots exceeded 1,000 rems, twice a lethal dose. Yet Edward Houser, a chemistry foreman at the plant, had put on his antiradiation gear, including three pairs of coveralls and a full-face respirator, in order to draw a vital sample of contaminated water to help his colleagues figure out what was happening. He absorbed only four rems during his mission; a total of five is the limit set by the plant for a year. "It's not the kind of thing you want to do," he explained later, "but you have to."

While praising the courage of his co-workers, one of the plant's engineers told *TIME* Correspondent Peter Stoler that he was not at all sure that they were fully competent to handle their high-stakes responsibilities. "We really don't have enough in the way of scientific people," he said. "There are a lot of technicians, but very few engineers and even fewer nuclear scientists." He claimed that the lobster shifts in the control room were especially inexperienced. "They are usually kids, guys in their twenties who took a course on reactor operation and still have to look in the instruction book all the time," he said. "You should have at least one cool head around."

What was more, the engineer said that Unit 2 had been plagued with glitches during its shakedown phase. "Nothing serious, but enough to suggest that both the reactor and we needed to get to know each other better." Instead of thoroughly studying the cause of the malfunctions, the engineer maintained, the plant "went commercial too quickly." The multiple problems should have been a warning, he said. "If the lights in your house blow out every time you turn on your toaster, you know something is wrong. You call the electrician." Questioned about the engineer's statements, Harold Denton, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's operations chief, said there were enough qualified personnel in the control room to meet federal requirements.

Metropolitan Edison, which operates the Three Mile Island plant, had pressed Unit 2 into regular service last Dec. 30. By meeting the year-end deadline, the utility qualified for \$17 million to \$28 million in 1978 tax investment credits, plus \$20 million in depreciation deductions. It also got approval for a \$49 million rate in-



The structure housing Unit 2's crippled reactor

crease. "There was no question that there was strong incentive for the company to get that plant on line fast," contended David Barasch, an attorney for Pennsylvania's state Consumer Advocate office.

**T**he debate about the culpability—and venality—of Met-Ed was just beginning. In its defense, the utility insisted that the problems with Unit 2 were all routine. Before the reactor could begin operating commercially it also had to be approved by the NRC. Added Denton: "We don't issue licenses to operate plants until our people tell us that all tests have been completed."

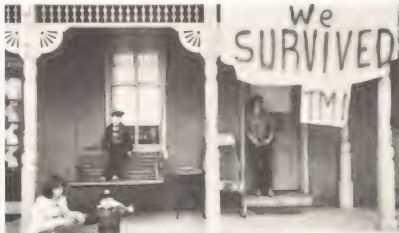
Just how well the NRC is handling its responsibility to ensure the safety of nuclear power will be probed by the special commission set up by President Carter. But on the basis of the NRC's findings about what happened at Three Mile Island, the public had good reason to believe that safety standards had been ignored.

The sequence of human errors and

mechanical failures began two weeks before the mishap. As part of a test, valves in three auxiliary pumps in the plant's secondary loop, which carries superheated water to the turbines that drive the electrical generators, were shut down. Incredibly—and in violation of NRC regulations—they were not reopened before the plant was put back into operation.

What triggered the accident was the failure of a pump in the secondary loop that transports hot water from the reactor. When this happened, the auxiliary pumps switched on as they were supposed to do. But, with their valves shut, they could not pump water. Their failure backed up water in the secondary loop and sent pressure inside the reactor soaring. This pressure rise, in turn, caused a relief valve to pop open. It stuck. Pressure then dropped so rapidly that the emergency core cooling system, designed to keep the core from overheating, was automatically activated. That started a reactor "scram" or shutdown. Tons of water flowed into the reactor and out through the open relief valve. At the same time, malfunctioning instruments gave reactor operators misleading readings of reactor pressure, which made them believe that the core of enriched uranium was covered with coolant when it was not. The operators switched off the system on the assumption that it was no longer needed. The premature shutdown and temporary loss of coolant caused the reactor's fuel rods to overheat. They reached a temperature of around 2,500° F., which could have led to a meltdown. Water pouring into the reactor overflowed to form a 250,000-gal. lake on the floor of the reactor building. Some of this water, laden with highly radioactive products, was pumped into the plant's auxiliary building, a structure not designed to handle high-level ra-

diation.



A Middletown family near the accident site marks its good fortune

"Why in the world should we pay for the company's mistakes?"



## Nation

dioactivity. Gases given off by this water were picked up by the plant's ventilation system and spewed into the atmosphere.

The sequence that stopped just short of disaster exposed a number of weaknesses in the safeguard system, including the obvious flaw of not having a remote-control method of adjusting a stuck valve. But human fallibility apparently was the more alarming shortcoming of what happened at Three Mile Island. Once the original on-site mistakes had been made, the blame spread to the NRC itself. Commission officials privately admit that they were slow to get an emergency crew with the necessary skill and authority to the scene of the disaster. Had the right men been there at the right time, three days before they finally did show up, they might have limited the damage and certainly would have reduced the meltdown risk. Astonishingly, in the age of the atom and travel to the moon, the NRC engineers who

cox, to eliminate any remaining danger. The crucial problem was a huge bubble of gas that threatened either to explode or block the cooling of the core. Pressure within the core was gradually reduced, the temperature of the fuel rods stabilized, and the bubble bled off. "Time is now on our side," said the relieved Denton.

It might take up to a month before radiation levels within the containment building will allow the dangerous structure to be entered, the steel cap removed from the top of the reactor vessel, and the damage fully assessed. Meanwhile, no human could even go safely into the auxiliary building. Only "Herman," a six-foot-tall robot with a remotely controlled arm capable of lifting 150 lbs., could lumber inside, turn valves and retrieve fresh samples of the contaminated water.

After a complete cooldown, an even more complex and costly, but less dangerous task faces the company. The NRC's

generated by Three Mile Island's two plants (Unit 1, which had been shut down for routine fuel replacement, has also been closed indefinitely) is costing Met-Ed some \$1 million a day. Company spokesmen claimed last week they had no alternative but to recover much of this loss from its residential customers by raising its rates by about \$7.50 a month. That led to outraged protests from consumer groups, who asked: "Why in the world should we pay for the company's mistakes?"

Last week Met-Ed also added to its record of abominable public relations by announcing that any of its women workers who were pregnant and thus left the area as Governor Thornburgh had advised would have to count their time off the job as vacation days.

Elsewhere in the affected area, dairy farmers and related food processors, including the Hershey Foods Corp., are as worried about adverse psychological effects on their customers as they are about the damage to their products. However, traces of iodine 131 found in local milk supplies turned out to be far less than the levels measured after China's nuclear bomb test in 1976, and even that had been ruled insignificant by health experts. HLW Secretary Joseph Califano stated that the largest radiation dose received by anyone in the area of the plant was the equivalent of two chest X rays. Hershey was still buying over a million lbs. of milk a day from 935 local farmers, but to be safe was converting it into a powdered form for storage until any possible radiation decays.

**D**airy Farmer Tom Williams, who farms 300 acres and owns 110 cows within five miles of Three Mile Island, said he had felt confident all along that the plant would not destroy his livelihood. But he admitted that as a farmer he was naturally an optimist. Explained Williams: "Every spring you plant your grains and have confidence that the sun will shine and the water will come down so your crops will grow. Otherwise, you can't farm."

That tendency to see a bright side in even such a narrow escape from a technological disaster was typical of the response of many Pennsylvanians. Bartender Bud King even went so far as to predict that his home town of Goldsboro would become as popular as Plains, Ga. His explanation: "Tourists are going to flock here to see the famous Three Mile Island plant."

The area had survived three serious floods in recent years and rallied strongly, and surely would again after the accident at that nuclear plant out in the Susquehanna River. Yet there remained an underlying chill that was hard to shake. Retired Dairy Farmer Samuel Williams tried to explain what was so intimidating about the danger of radiation: "This you can't see, can't feel, can't smell." Those four huge cooling towers on the skyline will never look so innocent again. ■



first went to Three Mile Island had trouble keeping in communication with their home office. Says one NRC official in Washington: "We had a hell of a time trying to find out what was going on. The whole commercial phone system was jammed. We couldn't get through."

When Denton finally did get on the scene, he brought order out of the chaos. In Harrisburg, Governor Thornburgh, facing an emergency that was truly unique, had been frustrated by the lack of clear information. Thornburgh told TIME New York Bureau Chief Donald Neff: "There is a prayer for Governors who find themselves in my situation: 'Lord, send me the straight facts.'" Denton, said Thornburgh, "was a straight talker who knew his facts. He's been our best source, extremely helpful and useful." Jimmy Carter's visit to the plant's control room also helped calm the public.

Under Denton's supervision, company engineers worked with experts from the plant's main builder, Babcock & Wil-

Robert M. Bernero, a nuclear plant de-commissioning expert, estimated that the cleanup may take "a year or two." It could cost more than the \$700 million spent on building Unit 2 in the first place. If Met-Ed decides the cost of decontamination and rebuilding is too great, the plant might be sealed up instead. That would create what Colorado Senator Gary Hart has called "a billion-dollar mausoleum."

Met-Ed, through a complicated insurance pool involving the industry and the Federal Government, may be able to receive hundreds of millions of dollars to ward the costs. The company's insurance was also making payments to families with pregnant mothers and pre-school children who had left the area. When Michael Nye picked up his family's \$280 check after leaving his home in Bainbridge, he admitted: "I'm a little happier now. But I will be a lot happier when they get the reactor straightened out."

The utility has other problems. Just replacing the electricity that had been

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Others see impounded wilderness lands as entombed. No roads, shelter, communications, conveniences. No mineral exploration or woodland harvests. Today, wilderness covers nearly 19 million acres. Another 105 million Alaskan acres have been set aside by executive order. And 56 million other national forest acres are under study. Those acres supply over a quarter of our softwood timber. Woodsmen in particular say "lock up that much potential and lumber costs will climb. Jobs will be lost. Let's have expanded commercial acreage, not less."

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**"We need more wood."**





## Watching the Watchdogs

*Does the Nuclear Regulatory Commission regulate enough?*

**T**he reactor accident on Three Mile Island brought into public glare a little-known federal agency with tremendous responsibilities: the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, which is charged with making sure that nuclear plants are safe before it licenses them, and then enforcing strict operating rules. President Carter's inquiry into the reasons for the near disaster in Pennsylvania will inevitably examine the performance of the NRC.

Regulation of reactors began under the Atomic Energy Commission, set up in 1946 shortly after the first atomic bomb fell on Japan. The AEC had the job of both promoting and safeguarding the development of atomic power. In 1974 President Gerald Ford signed a bill splitting the AEC into two agencies with separate functions: the Energy Research and Development Administration, which encourages the growth of nuclear power, and the NRC, which is concerned with safety.

This history is behind the main charge leveled against the NRC by the Union of Concerned Scientists, which is composed of 70,000 members, including 2,500 scientists and engineers, and three dozen nuclear experts. The nonprofit organization charges that the NRC has been far too lax about safety standards for nuclear power. Says U.C.S. Spokesman Robert Pollard, a former NRC safety inspector who resigned when his recommendations were overridden: "The top men at the NRC grew up [in the AEC] with the dream of nuclear energy. For that dream to work, it has to be economical. Even though they are only supposed to be regulating for public safety, these people take the cost of regulation into consideration and make safety decisions on that basis."

Pollard and his colleagues cite a series of safety hazards they claim the NRC has tolerated in nuclear plants around the nation, including Three Mile Island. For example, the scientists contend that defects in 26 reactors built by General Electric might cause the release of radiation in an accident similar to the one in Pennsylvania. The scientists have also produced a pamphlet, called the "Nugget File," that describes mishaps at nuclear plants, like the use of a basketball to plug a pipe leading from a radioactive tank.

The U.C.S. also claims that top staff members of the NRC are too cozy with the industry they are regulating. A 1975 study done by Common Cause found that 65% of NRC staffers had been employed by companies that held licenses, permits or contracts with the commission. In particular, the U.C.S. is critical of NRC Chairman Joseph M. Hendrie for not keeping at arm's length the industry he regulates. Retorts Hendrie: "I don't think my critics know my mind-set. They have a po-

litical goal, which is to capture the NRC with antinuclear forces." And Hendrie insists: "I've never worked a day in my life for the commercial nuclear industry."

A nuclear physicist, Hendrie, 54, has spent 24 years in the Federal Government and academic world working on nuclear power, including six years as an adviser to the AEC. In 1977, Carter appointed him chairman, at a current salary of \$57,500, of the five-man commission, which directs the work of 2,723 employees. Carter has also appointed as commissioners Peter Bradford, 36, who headed the Maine Public Utilities Commission, and John F.

ter emergency and evacuation plans. Another report declared that the NRC should more carefully monitor the construction of plants, charging that the inspectors were relying too heavily on papers and test results provided by the contractors and not enough on independent on-site probing.

In his 1977 energy message, President Carter called for the NRC to have more on-site inspectors for nuclear power plants. A \$6 million appropriation for this purpose was pushed through Congress last year by Senator Gary Hart, but so far only 22 of 70 proposed inspectors are on duty. The Harrisburg events, however, have shown Hart that such inspectors may not be adequate watchdogs. Living day in and day out at the same plant, he says, might cause them to adopt the power company interests as their own.



**NRC Members Ahearne, Kennedy, Chairman Hendrie, Gilinsky and Bradford**

*Struggling to make sure that the genie stays safely in the bottle.*

Ahearne, 44, the former deputy assistant secretary for resource applications at the Department of Energy. The other two members of the commission are Victor Gilinsky, 44, formerly of the Rand Corp., and Richard Kennedy, 59, previously a presidential assistant for National Security Council planning, both appointed by President Ford.

**T**he NRC is capable of making the industry it regulates as unhappy as it does its critics. In March the commission shut down five plants in the East, with a resulting loss of 4 million kilowatts of power. Engineers found a mathematical defect in the computer program used in designing the plants' coolant pipes to withstand a major earthquake. The chairman of the engineering company insisted there was no chance that the pipes would fail under predicted conditions.

The NRC has also been criticized by the General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress. A GAO report upbraided the NRC for not requiring bet-

ter Hendrie is quick to agree that his beleaguered agency needs more people. Says he: "We'd be glad to inspect more if Congress would supply more money. We have 600 people in our inspection office now. If they want us to double our effort, we'll need another 300 or 400."

Last week, clearly drained by the ordeal at Three Mile Island, Hendrie considered the new dimensions of problems now facing his agency. "I suspect you would always like to inspect a little more," he acknowledged, but he felt that the present system of spot checking was all that was feasible, or necessary. To check even 10% of a nuclear power plant that took millions of man-hours to build, he said, "would require an enormous task force beyond anything that the Congress in its frugal mood would countenance." But in the wake of what happened in Harrisburg, Congress—and the American public—may be far more willing than before to spend whatever money is necessary to make sure that the genie of nuclear power stays safely in the bottle. ■



## Time Essay

# Looking Anew at the Nuclear Future



In cooling down the failed reactor at Three Mile Island, experts from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) had to assess soberly the risks of every feasible step, weigh them against the dangers of waiting too long, and act only after satisfying themselves that they had a reasonably clear idea of what to do. The same spirit ought to govern the public and its leaders in the intense debate about the future of nuclear power that is now beginning. As at Harrisburg, hasty judgments, formed in response ei-

ther to panic or to glib reassurances that nothing much was amiss, could lock the nation into a misguided energy policy damaging to the health, welfare and productive strength of the U.S.

In the early stages of the debate, some tough questions have to be answered with an honest "nobody knows." But even before the final explanations are in on just what went wrong at Three Mile Island, it is possible to state two principles to guide future energy policy:

1) The U.S. needs nuclear power.

2) Nonetheless, the nation should reconsider just how much is required and how to get it with maximum safety.

The nature of the need should be clarified first. Fissioning atoms cannot drive cars or heat homes or melt steel, though that may become possible in some distant future. Nuclear power today can be used only to generate electricity. Last year, nuclear plants produced 12.5% of the nation's electricity, or something less than 4% of its total energy. Utilities have cut back sharply on their once ambitious plans for nuclear expansion because of skyrocketing costs of plant construction, regulatory and legal delays, and uncertainty about how rapidly demand for electricity will grow. President Nixon's energy planners foresaw atomic plants supplying 40% of all U.S. electricity by the year 2000. Jimmy Carter's strategists can see no more than 25% (or less than 8% of total energy consumption), and there is much doubt that even that goal can be met. Thus the fastest increase in nuclear power that realistically can be expected would come nowhere near freeing the U.S. of its dangerous reliance on foreign oil.

But nuclear power's role cannot be eliminated without dire consequences. In some areas—New England, around Chicago, parts of the Southeast—atomic plants supply about half of all electricity. Shutting them would lead to blackouts and brownouts that would gravely threaten public health and safety. Electricity bills would soar, cruelly pinching low-income homeowners, as utilities were compelled to turn to higher-cost sources of energy. Some power companies would be forced to buy still more foreign oil at prices of up to \$20 a barrel, fanning inflation, weakening the dollar and tying the U.S. energy future yet more tightly to the explosive politics of the Middle East. M.I.T. Physicist Henry Kendall, a leader of the antinuclear Union of Concerned Scientists, readily concedes: "If we throw the switch and shut down all the

nuclear plants next Thursday, that would represent a traumatic situation that could not be dealt with by the country."

A national moratorium on new "nukes," similar to those already in effect in several states, could lead to slower growth of electric supply, less industrial production, fewer jobs, lower standards of living. Oil cannot take over the role of nuclear power in generating electricity, even if the nation were foolish or desperate enough to speed up the already frightening increase of oil imports. Petroleum is too expensive and too much in demand for transportation, home heating, chemical output.

Of the fuels now available, only coal is abundant and cheap enough to substitute for nuclear power. But it is dangerous to mine and dirty to burn. One study sponsored by the Ford Foundation estimates that a new coal-fired plant meeting current environmental standards produces two to 25 fatalities a year. In addition, there is the threat of the "greenhouse effect," the possibility that all-out burning of coal would pour so much carbon dioxide into the air as to keep heat from escaping out of the atmosphere into space. Theoretical consequences that some scientists like to cite: warming of the earth, melting of the polar ice caps, flooding of the world's seacoast cities. In fact, there is no known way of producing energy without some environmental danger.

**B**ut even though there is no escape from keeping nuclear plants in operation and building new ones, the nation cannot let the debate end there. Three Mile Island vividly illustrated the dangers of reliance on nuclear power. Disaster was avoided, but probably not by much. Experts who never considered the possibility that a hydrogen bubble would hinder attempts to shut down a balking reactor can no longer contend that the chances of serious accident are so tiny as to be totally discounted. The radiation released was well below the Government's standards for safety, but cancer rates among people exposed to fallout from the atomic-bomb tests of the 1950s and shipyard workers who repair atom-powered vessels raise troubling questions about the long-run effects of supposedly "safe" radiation.

Still unsettled—and unsettling—is the question of how the U.S. can safely dispose of garbage from nuclear operations. Spent fuel and other wastes remain radioactive for thousands of years. At present a lot of such waste is stored under water in "swimming pools" at plant sites, but nuclear plants are running out of pool space. Some may have to shut down as early as 1983 unless a more permanent method of disposal is found. Nuclear plants are built to operate for about 35 years. By the year 2000 some worn-out ones will either have to be torn down or sealed up so that no radiation escapes. No one yet knows how to safely dismantle or seal off a reactor, though Three Mile Island may provide some insights about that.

Prudence dictates that the U.S. build nuclear plants only when practical, economical and safer alternatives are not available. There is still time to search for alternatives, while also working to tighten the safety of nuclear plants themselves. Electric generating capacity nationwide exceeds expected peak demand by 33%. That figure is not quite so reassuring as it sounds; utility-company officials contend that at least 18% "excess" capacity is required to meet unexpected surges in demand, guard against breakdowns and allow for mainte-



nance. Still, the nation has some breathing space to figure out how many new nuclear plants are required, and how soon.

A study by the Harvard Business School indicates that the U.S. can indeed reduce dependence on nuclear power while avoiding holding itself up to ransom by foreign oil producers. It is summarized by Professors Robert Stobaugh and Daniel Yergin in the current issue of *Foreign Affairs*. The key findings:

Under present policies, nuclear power, which now provides the equivalent of the energy in 1 million bbl. of oil per day, would supply the equivalent of 3 million bbl. per day by the late 1980s. Even so, imports would rise from the present 9 million bbl. per day to 14 million. However, policies can be envisioned under which nuclear output would be only doubled, not tripled, and oil imports still held to their present level. The nation would have to adopt a rigorous conservation program (for example, better insulating of present buildings and requiring that new ones be held to tight standards). As President Carter noted in his energy speech last week, "Conservation is our cheapest and cleanest energy source."

In addition, the U.S. would have to make a heavy push on solar energy, which the authors calculate by the late 1980s could produce four times as much energy as it would under current strategies. To achieve so large an increase in solar power so quickly, say the professors, the Government would have to pay out generous tax credits and subsidies, redirect research away from huge solar satellites and "power towers" toward smaller panels tied to individual buildings, and encourage utilities to finance and install solar gear for their customers. "Solar" in this case means not only energy from the sun itself but also from so-called biomass: burning garbage and agricultural waste.

Like all figures in the energy debate, these will be vehemently disputed, but the point remains that there are alternatives to both nuclear power and foreign oil worthy of consideration. One is "co-generation" of power; that is, using waste heat from factories and apartment houses to generate electricity at power plants built on site. Co-generation provides about a third of West Germany's electricity. The Army Corps of Engineers believes that electricity supplies could be increased significantly by expanding and improving existing hydroelectric power stations. Other alternatives will require technological breakthroughs. The fluidized-bed method of burning coal—essentially, burning a mixture of crushed coal and sand suspended on a column of air inside a superhot container—promises ultimately to make combustion more efficient while cutting down on pollutants. It is now in the experimental stage, but has yet to be made applicable to large-scale commercial operations. Unlocking oil from the vast deposits of shale rock in the West at present is uneconomical, produces gigantic piles of ash, and uses too much valuable water. But tests indicate that oil may be burned out of the shale underground without adding much to pollution.

These are only examples of possibilities. All may succeed; all may fail. There is no one "solution" to the energy problem. Zealots of every stripe have done the nation a disservice by touting their pet ideas (conservation, nuclear power, solar power, co-generation or whatever) as the solution and denigrating every other idea. Their competing overenthusiasms have confused an already difficult debate. The task is to devise a truly comprehensive energy program, investigating every feasible idea and pouring time and money into those that seem most promising.

In the most comprehensive imaginable energy program, however, nuclear power still would play a role. So the question remains: How can reactors be made safer right now? There are several approaches:

**REGULATION.** Experts from the NRC should be on duty in the control room of every reactor round the clock, armed with full authority to take over at the first sign of trouble, order a shut-

down if that seems necessary, direct all emergency procedures for closing the plant—and damn what it may cost. At present, this responsibility is borne largely by utility-company employees, who, with the best will in the world, cannot avoid thinking about the costs to the company. In addition, computers at all U.S. nuclear plants should be wired in to a central NRC monitoring station, so that the first blip registering potential trouble would ring an alarm at headquarters.

NRC inspectors can and should keep a much closer eye on construction of nuclear plants and the quality of equipment. They are supposed to do so now, but far too much of their time is taken up poring over reports submitted by contractors. That paper work could be turned over to clerks, giving the NRC inspectors more time to go out to sites and look around. When they do so, disinterested observers agree, they do a good job. An analogy can be drawn with the space program. In its early days it was plagued by sloppy work and accidents, but now the National Aeronautics and Space Administration enforces tight safety controls on contractors. If the Nuclear Regulatory Commission had been equally tough with the utility industry, some veteran observers of the space program believe, the Three Mile Island accident would not have happened.

Power utility managers might well be pleased to turn over to the Government the burden of responsibility for monitoring and safety. Shepard Bartnoff, head of the Jersey Central Power and Light Co., one of the owners of the Three Mile Island plants, said at hearings in Washington last week that he wished an NRC inspector had been in the control room to coordinate emergency operations when the trouble started.

**SITING.** A Ford Foundation-sponsored study indicates that a nuclear accident at a poorly chosen site—one close to a heavily populated area or at a location where winds would carry radioactive particles toward big cities—would cause 1,000 times more damage to life and property than a mishap at a more remote spot.

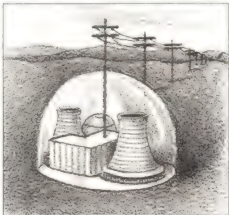
Alvin Weinberg, director of Tennessee's Institute for Energy Analysis, and a physicist considered by some anti-nukes to be about the most thoughtful proponent of nuclear power, calls for severely limiting new sites for nuclear power plants. He would

permit expansion only on 90 of the 100 sites where reactors are now operating or planned. Among the ten sites where he would allow no new construction: Indian Point, N.Y., near New York City; Zion, Ill., close to Chicago—and Three Mile Island. Concentrating construction at the other 90 sites, he believes, would result in the building of huge atomic complexes, staffed by groups of experts like those at the sprawling Government atomic works in Oak Ridge, Tenn.

**LEGISLATION.** President Carter is again expected to submit a bill to Congress to speed up licensing procedures for nuclear plants. No action was taken on a similar bill last year. Congressmen understandably are wary about putting new nuclear plants into operation more quickly. But the bill calls for standardizing reactor designs, with appropriate safeguards, and for building up a bank of preselected sites on which reactor construction would be permitted. Those provisions would enhance safety.

The nuclear issues are fiendishly complicated and the stakes the highest imaginable. The outcome will test the ability of a democratic society to solve the most involved technical questions, ones on which experts offer diametrically opposed opinions. Caution, sobriety, careful weighing of risks, which cannot be escaped, ought to be the watchwords. Slogan shouting—"Hell, no, we won't glow," vs. "Let the bastards freeze in the dark"—merely impedes progress toward America's energy future. Simply put, the nation needs to move forward to improve the safety, reliability and efficiency of all forms of energy—including nuclear, and the many alternatives.

— George J. Church



## Twin Salvos for SALT

*Starting the campaign for a new U.S.-Soviet arms pact*

**T**he SALT II offensive has begun. With a powerful rhetorical barrage, the Carter Administration last week started fighting in earnest to win support for a new U.S.-Soviet strategic arms limitation treaty. In Chicago, National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski denounced "unwarranted alarmist" criticisms of the accord and declared that the treaty would "lead to more peaceful relations" between the two superpowers. In Manhattan a day later, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown called SALT "the foundation for progress in establishing an enduring political relationship with the Soviets that reduces tensions and sets important visible boundaries to our ideological and political and military competition." These salvos were just a taste of what is likely to be months of impassioned national argument over the accord's merits, a potentially acrimonious fight that could make last year's Panama Canal Treaty debate seem like a tea party.

Even as Administration spokesmen took to the hustings, there was a sense that the more than six years of negotiations on the accord might finally be drawing to a close. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance was awaiting a Soviet reply to U.S. proposals on the last issues blocking agreement: the use of codes in missile tests and the definition of what constitutes new types of missiles.

The U.S. has insisted that the Soviets must not scramble or "encrypt" the most essential electronic data being flashed from missiles to ground monitors during test flights. Keeping the transmissions readable would allow the U.S. to continue intercepting the Soviet test data needed to verify that Moscow is not violating SALT II. The U.S. has also proposed that an increase or decrease of more than 5% in the size of an existing missile would make the weapon a "new type," hence one whose development is restricted by the treaty. The Soviets have seemed willing to accept a 5% ceiling on increases, yet would like to be able to shrink existing missiles by 12% before these weapons would be classified as new ones. The U.S., however, maintains that more than a 5% change fundamentally alters a missile's characteristics and that a smaller new weapon, utilizing technological advances in miniaturization, could be even

more lethal than an older but larger one.

Except for relatively technical issues such as these, the outlines of SALT II have been in place for nearly two years. The centerpiece is a treaty, running through 1985, that would limit the American and Soviet strategic arsenals to a maximum of 2,250 strategic launchers, a category that includes intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), submarine-launched ballistic missiles and long-range bombers. Under this overall ceiling, some classes of weapons would be subject to further restrictions. Perhaps the most important would limit both countries to 1,320 strategic launchers carrying several warheads and known as MIRVs (multiple, independently targeted re-entry vehicles). To restrain the introduction of new weapons systems, the treaty would allow each side to develop and deploy only one new type of ICBM.

Even tighter restrictions on new weaponry would be imposed by a protocol separate from the treaty. In force for 2½ years, the protocol would, among other

things, ban deployment of ground- and sea-launched cruise missiles with ranges of more than 373 miles and mobile ICBMs.

To the dismay of many advocates of arms control, neither the treaty nor the protocol would require much change in existing U.S. or Soviet strategic arsenals. The Pentagon now only has about 2,240 launchers. Moscow would have to dismantle about 250 launchers to get below the 2,250 ceiling; these probably would be aging ICBMs dating from the early 1960s. In an implicit acknowledgment of SALT II's very modest achievements in terms of arms reduction, the treaty and protocol are to be accompanied by a statement of principles that would set guidelines for SALT III. Among the stated goals for the negotiations would almost certainly be a call for arms cuts.

**T**hough conceding that SALT II is imperfect, the Carter Administration nonetheless is giving the accord an enthusiastic endorsement. Defense Secretary Brown last week told a joint meeting of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Foreign Policy Association that the pact's provisions would add a crucial measure of stability to U.S.-Soviet strategic relations. Said he: "It is probable that without SALT II, we would enter into

an era of greater uncertainty—in both military and political terms—that would result in increased strategic forces on both sides as hedges against that uncertainty." He went on to say that the "net result of such a numbers race would be greater strategic force levels at vastly greater expense and at substantial risk to stability." He estimated that SALT II would enable the Pentagon to maintain "essential equivalence" with the Soviets at a saving of \$30 billion during the next decade compared with the cost if a treaty did not exist. But even with an arms accord, added Brown, "substantial U.S. defense programs, expanded ones in the strategic field," would be required. Indeed, SALT II would not interfere with U.S. plans for a new Trident submarine-launched missile, a land-based mobile missile and the cruise missile.

Brzezinski explained to the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations that SALT's ceilings "simplify our future strategic planning and add more certainty to our military projections." Alluding to Soviet Communist Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev's ill health, Brzezinski added: "When the next generation of Soviet leaders decides its policies towards strategic arms and towards the



Defense Secretary Brown defending the arms treaty in Manhattan  
*But ratification still faces tough sledding in the Senate.*



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Kings & 100's

## Nation

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

### "Return to Realism"

U.S., we want them to face clear and agreed restraints on the competition in strategic arms. We want these to be the restraints of SALT II."

If Washington and Moscow agree on a draft treaty, the formal signing could be the occasion for the long-delayed Carter-Brezhnev summit. After that, the battle over SALT in the U.S. would intensify greatly. The opposition has been mobilized for some time. It argues that the treaty would favor Moscow because the U.S. would not be compensated for the continuing Soviet advantage in missile size and power. There also is concern that the protocol's restrictions on technology would be to America's disadvantage. Said Texas Republican Senator John Tower: "The Soviets can continue to make qualitative improvements in their system and overcome certain technological superiority that the U.S. enjoys at the moment."

Ratification will require a two-thirds vote by the Senate. After taking a head count, California's Alan Cranston, the Senate majority whip, observed last week: "It's not impossible, but ratification faces very tough sledding." He found that 40 of his colleagues are strongly for SALT II and ten are leaning toward it, this leaves 20 firmly opposed to the treaty, ten likely against it and 20 undecided.

Ohio Democrat John Glenn, however, puts "30 or 35 in the iffy column." Though fundamentally for SALT, Glenn will oppose it if he is not convinced that the U.S. would be able to verify Moscow's compliance with the treaty's terms. Glenn told Carter last week what especially worries him is the loss of bases in Iran from which the CIA monitored Soviet missile tests. In addressing this fear, Brown declared that the Administration is "confident that no significant violation of the treaty could take place without the U.S. detecting it."

Opposition to the treaty from Glenn might sway several of the undecided Senators, but an even stronger influence on how they eventually vote will be the position taken by Washington Democrat Henry (Scoop) Jackson, who is widely regarded as the Senate's leading strategic arms expert. Acknowledged Cranston: "If Jackson was for it, there would be no contest." But Jackson has already made a number of speeches criticizing the treaty and generally is regarded as firmly in the no column.

The current lineup of Senate votes could change significantly now that the Administration has launched its offensive for the treaty. Remarkably a Senate aide who has long followed the issue: "This damn thing could shift in 50 directions." One thing, however, seems certain. With the national debate on the treaty gathering force, Senator Joseph Biden, the Delaware Democrat, soon will not be able to quip as he did last week: "Half the people don't know the difference between SALT and pepper."

The world has grown more dangerous in the past few months. Tension over oil and the unrelenting growth of the Soviet arsenal have sent shock waves into the American system. "Nuclear war is becoming more probable," laments Richard Barnet of the Institute for Policy Studies. Yes, confesses one of President Carter's principal strategic planners, there is "a change in attitude" in the White House. There is the growing realization that the U.S. must sustain and demonstrate its power, even be prepared to use it.

As if orchestrated, the nation's clergy are raising their voices against the world's mad arms rush, but the people who are obsessed with weapons—like the Soviets—hurry on. The U.S. is dragged along. Need it be?

Carter prays these days, but it is also noted that he sent the aircraft carrier *Constellation* to the Arabian Sea even in the midst of his spiritual ministrations for peace in the Middle East. Is he becoming a little more of an Old Testament figure? The President laughs. "I think so," he says. "There's a good balance. It is a very vivid demonstration of the importance of American military strength when it is used for peaceful purposes." This latter-day Isaiah is trying his best to beat some of our swords into plowshares, but inside Jimmy Carter is the same belief found in most Americans—that our might has done more to preserve modern peace than any other single force. While he argues for disarmament, Carter intends to devise new and better weapons.

Peace through strength. There is a mockery in that equation. "We build up and build up," said John Kennedy one melancholy evening. "then somebody is going to use them. That is the lesson of history." Or is it?

Richard Nixon began the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks even while allowing Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi to come to America and fill his military market basket.



Union and Confederate troops at Ball's Bluff, Va.

ket. "I think I can prove," mused Nixon a while back, "that the arms Americans have sold have rarely been used in aggression, while those of the Russians and other nations have been used repeatedly. Are we to ignore requests from our friends in this kind of world?"

House Speaker Tip O'Neill predicts that his restive Congress is going to raise the defense budget even over the \$11 billion increase (total \$125.8 billion) proposed by Jimmy Carter. The eloquent and insistent voices for disarmament from Iowa's Senator John Culver and Wisconsin's Les Aspin have been subtly toned down lately as the facts of the Soviet buildup have hardened.

"A return to realism," says Secretary of Defense Harold Brown of the awakening American attitude toward our strength. We drifted in the years after Viet Nam, embarrassed by power. The Soviets did nothing of the sort. By the early 1980s the U.S.S.R. will probably have caught up with us in almost every modern military category. Their research into new weapons of terror, though now behind ours, will perhaps exceed our own because of the sheer concentration of effort.

Oliver Wendell Holmes, wounded three times in the Civil War, used to thunder a century ago about "this smug, oversafe corner of the world... a little space of calm in the midst of the tempestuous, untamed streaming of the world," so far removed from most human want and anguish. That has not changed much over the past decades. But now it is changing. Scarcity is catching us, and we would probably be one of the first nuclear battlegrounds if restraint ever fractured.

But along with fear these days comes also the faint scent of a new kind of courage, the renewed understanding that in every moment of stress there is opportunity. While searching for a nuclear accommodation with the Soviet Union, the U.S. seems to be showing more understanding of our power, both military and economic. Holmes contended that character emerged from adversity, heroes from heroics. There are no more battles of Ball's Bluff or Antietam with trumpets and cannons, but it is a time for our own brand of heroics and heroes, men and women who in these next months can bring new and bold ideas to preserve peace even among contending societies in the nuclear age.

## Nation

### Ford's Memoirs

"The monkey off my back"

He was a "terribly proud man" who de-tested weakness in other people and often spoke "disparagingly of those whom he felt to be soft and expedient." Indeed, by the end of his presidency, "his pride and personal contempt for weakness had overcome his ability to tell the difference between right and wrong ... He was out of touch with reality."

So writes Gerald Ford of Richard Nixon in his memoirs, *A Time to Heal*, which will be published by Harper & Row in late May or June. The *Nation* magazine obtained a 655-page typescript of the book ("Somebody dropped off a copy," explained Editor Victor Navasky) and printed portions of the work last week. The sampling contained no major revelations of the Ford years but did add illuminating detail and indicated that Ford has a harsher view of his predecessor than he had previously disclosed.

As Ford testified before a House subcommittee in October 1974, Nixon's chief of staff, Alexander Haig, first suggested to him the possibility of a pardon for Nixon a week before the President resigned. Further, Ford writes, "I did ask Haig about the extent of a President's pardon power." But after being warned by Aide John Marsh that the mention of a pardon in this context was "a time bomb," Ford later read Haig a statement: "I want you to understand that I have no intention of recommending what the President should do about resigning or not resigning and that nothing we talked about yesterday afternoon should be given any consideration in whatever decision the President may wish to make."

Ford recalls that after becoming President, he learned from Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski that the case against Nixon was "wide-ranging" and could "take years" to settle. He feared that Nixon "would not spend time quietly at San Clemente." Says Ford: "It would be virtually impossible for me to direct public attention to anything else."

[At Yale Law School] I learned that public policy often took precedence over rule of law." Consequently, he decided

to pardon Nixon "to get the monkey off my back one way or the other." Ford adds: "Compassion for Nixon as an individual hadn't prompted my decision at all."

But first Ford sent Aide Benton Becker to San Clemente to persuade the former President to make a full confession. Becker was met by Nixon Aide Ron Ziegler, who declared: "Let's get one thing straight immediately. President Nixon is not issuing any statement whatsoever regarding Watergate, whether Jerry Ford pardons him or not." Ziegler proposed a statement that Becker turned down; after three more drafts, they agreed on one in which Nixon stopped far short of a full confession. When Becker tried to explain to Nixon that accepting the pardon was an implied confession of guilt, Nixon wanted to talk instead about the Washington Redskins. When Becker left, writes Ford, Nixon pressed on him a pair of cuff links and a tie pin "out of my own jewelry box."

Ford says his first action after being told that Nixon was going to resign was to phone Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. "Henry," said Ford, "I need you. The country needs you. I want you to stay. I'll do everything I can to work with you." Replied Kissinger: "Sir, it is my job to get along with you and not yours to get along with me." Soon afterward, writes Ford, Kissinger talked him out of announcing that he would not run for President in 1976, which was Ford's inclination at the time. Said Kissinger: "You can't reassert the authority of the presidency if you leave yourself hanging out on a dead limb. You've got to be an affirmative President."

Ford relied heavily on Kissinger for advice on foreign affairs, but he was not above listening to even unofficial voices. At the height of the *Mayaguez* incident, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger was arguing with Kissinger and Ford about whether the U.S. should retaliate with massive air strikes against Cambodia. Suddenly, Photographer David Hume Kennerly, who was photographing the historic moment, asked if anyone had considered that "this might be the act of a local Cambodian commander who has just taken it into his own hands to stop any ship that comes by?" After a moment of silence, Ford writes, that view carried the day, and he ordered only limited air strikes against a handful of Cambodian military targets.



Ford and Haig in 1974

The time bomb was ticking.

### April Fool!

Jerry Brown is mousetrapped

When California Governor Jerry Brown was asked to testify before a New Hampshire legislative committee in support of a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget, he looked on it as a double political opportunity, even though the offer came from Republicans. Democrat Brown could speak out again on his favorite issue, and he could also visit New Hampshire, where the nation's first presidential primary will be held in less than a year.

So with hardly a second thought, Brown last week arrived in foggy, rainy New England, only to find the political weather stormier still. The Republicans, who control the state house of representatives, had stacked the public hearing so that opponents, including Democratic Governor Hugh Gallen, would not be recognized until late in the evening.

As Brown arrived at the Concord statehouse, the Democratic members of the house committee stalked out of the hearing to protest. That left Brown with the unhappy choice of testifying, and in the process alienating the state's Democratic leaders, or backing down and looking foolish. Brown retreated. Said he: "I am not going to be a party to a snub of the Governor of New Hampshire."

Brown left for the 3,000-mile return flight to California convinced that he had been mousetrapped by Jimmy Carter's political operatives. Both Gallen and Chris Spiro, minority leader of the New Hampshire house, are Carter supporters. But Brown's gaffe actually seems to have been a case of naivete and poor staff work. Spiro had written to Brown saying that the hearing was a "Republican scheme" and that he should stay away.

Brown never replied. Said Spiro: "He fell victim to his own arrogance and eccentric political behavior." Explained Brown: "The intramural complexities and machinations of the New Hampshire house are beyond my ken, and I'm not going to parse those complexities."

At least one voter was not bothered by the incident. On the flight home, a fellow economy-class passenger suddenly presented Brown with a check for \$1,000 made out to the "Jerry Brown for President Committee." The Governor gave it back, saying that he was not yet a candidate. At week's end he was off on another trip, this time with a close friend, Singer Linda Ronstadt, and to a presumably friendlier destination: Africa, for a ten-day tour.



Jerry Brown

FORD HAD OWNED FIRST MAGAZINE PUBLICATION RIGHTS TO TWO CHAPTERS OF THE BOOK.



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## Special Report

COVER STORIES

# The World of ISLAM

*"We Muslims are one family even though we live under different governments and in various regions."*

—Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini, leader of Iran's revolution

*"The real force of Islam is the feeling that you belong to a brotherhood with the obligation to serve that brotherhood and thereby serve God."*

—Sheik Ahmed Zaki Yamani, Saudi Minister of Petroleum

*"Islam judges. Islam protects. Islam urges resistance when there is injustice."*

—Anwar Gamali, Egyptian university student

**T**hose are only a few of the voices of Islam, as powerful and compelling today as the muezzin's ancient call of the faithful to prayer. The voices speak Russian and Chinese, Persian and French, Berber and Malay, Turkish and Urdu—and Arabic, of course, the mother tongue of the Prophet Muhammad and language of Islam's holy book, the Koran. Islam is the world's youngest universal faith, and the second largest, with 750 million adherents, to about 985 million for Christianity. Across the eastern hemisphere, but primarily in that strategic crescent that straddles the crossroads of three continents, Muslims are rediscovering their spiritual roots and reasserting the political power of the Islamic way of life. Repelled by the bitter fruits of modernization and fired by a zealous pride in its ancient heritage, the *umma* (world community) of Islam is stirring with revival.

Iran is the most telling example. Late last month millions of men and women went to the polls for a referendum in which they voted overwhelmingly in favor of an Islamic republic. The affirmative vote created the nation's first "government of God," declared the Ayatullah Khomeini. The monarchy will be replaced by a democratic system with an elected legislature; religious leaders will probably have some kind of veto power over prospective laws. The success of the yearlong Iranian revolution, which ousted a dynastic autocrat who dreamed of turning his country into a Western-style industrial and secular state, was hailed as "a new dawn for the Islamic people," in the words of one Kuwait newspaper. Palestinian fedayeen poured into the streets of Beirut to celebrate the victory by firing AK-47s into the air. In the Sudan, militant Muslims opposed to their government's alignment with Egypt held an Islamic victory parade, shouting, "Down with Sadat, friend of the Shah!" Proclaimed Cairo's conservative Muslim magazine *Al Da'wah* (The Call): "The Muslims are coming, despite Jewish cunning, Christian hatred and the Communist storm."

Iran is not the only country where the power and zeal of

Muslims making the hajj surround the sacred mosque at Mecca









a revived Islam is being felt. Earlier this year Pakistan added measures from the Shari'a—the Islamic code of justice based primarily on the Koran—to its criminal and civil laws. In Kuwait, a revised version of the Shari'a is being adopted in the legal code of that oil-rich desert state. Responding to a groundswell of Muslim fundamentalism, Egypt's People's Assembly is also debating the imposition of the Shari'a, which could close down the bars, nightclubs and gambling casinos that glitter along Cairo's Pyramid Road.

Perhaps the most reliable barometer of Islam's revival is observance of the hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca that devout Muslims are expected to make at least once in their lifetime. Participation has been growing steadily since 1974. Last November's pilgrimage was the biggest in history. Nearly 2 million people converged on the arid Plain of Arafat near Mecca to live in tents and perform the arduous five- to seven-day ritual that has remained unchanged for 14 centuries. More than ever before, the pilgrimage was a spiritual kaleidoscope of races and faces and languages from 70 countries, from the wealthiest of oil sheiks to the poorest of the poor.

**T**he renewed interest in Islam is most pronounced among the young. A prominent judge in Algiers is surprised to discover that five times a day his 14-year-old son joins a group of friends at a mosque for prayer. In Tunisia, whose President Habib Bourguiba has promoted equal rights for women, including divorce and abortion, students belonging to the militant Muslim Brothers wage war on "sin and evil" by painting over sexually suggestive cinema billboards and chalking quotations from the Koran on city walls. At Cairo University (enrollment: 130,000), hundreds of female Egyptian students have donned the veil and demanded classes separate from male students.

Islam has managed to survive, if not flourish, in the Communist world. The Soviet Union is now home to the world's fifth largest Muslim population (after Indonesia, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh). Officials in Moscow are notably fearful that the currents of fervor sweeping Iran might cross the border and infect the Islamic populations of Azerbaijan, Turkmen and other republics on the Soviet Union's southern tier. More than half of the estimated 11 million people in China's huge western province of Xinjiang (Sinkiang) are Muslim; a heavy propaganda campaign against the "opiate of the masses" has failed to prevent the faithful from performing their daily rituals of prayer in private, away from the watchful eyes of Communist cadres. On the Israeli-occupied West Bank and in Gaza, and even among Israel's own Muslim citizens, there has been an upsurge in attendance at mosques and a renewed interest in Islam. Observes Rafi Israeli, a lecturer in Islamic civilization at Jerusalem's Hebrew University: "There's a new sense of exhilaration and self-confidence among Muslims. Islam has, after all, become a great success story."

The revival of Islam has been gathering force for more than a decade. Islam is no Friday-go-to-mosque kind of religion. It is a code of honor, a system of law and an all-encompassing way of life. To be sure, religious observance varies somewhat from country to country and person to person. Nonetheless, to the average Muslim, his faith is much more in evidence in everyday life than is Christianity to people in most Western lands. On Fridays, the Muslim sabbath, life comes to a halt in the factories, the marketplaces and the public squares. Men assemble their prayer rugs near an amplified sound system if there is no time or inclination to go inside a mosque; women frequently pray at home. Others perform the required ablutions and pray wherever they happen to be. A tennis pro in white shorts will place his racquet alongside the court at the sports club and say his prayers. An airline steward will spread out a towel in the corridor of a plane to pray. Workers in the fields will remove their boots at noon and kneel on pieces of cardboard. Mahmoud Hassan

Hajj pilgrims circle the black-draped shrine of the Ka'ba at Mecca (top), re-enact the search for water by Abraham's wife Hagar (center), and kiss the Black Stone mounted in the Ka'ba (below)

Sharaf, 76, a Bedouin who lives on the edge of the Sahara, explains the peace he finds in prayer: "If I don't pray my heart is angry. When I pray my heart is still."

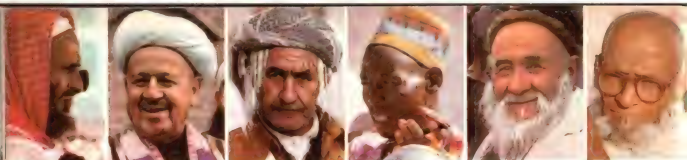
Everyday language contains countless reminders of Islam's basic belief that nothing on earth happens without God's will. Tell a Cairo taxi driver where you want to go and he will answer "*Inshallah*" (If God wills). If a housewife finds tomatoes in the market, she may mutter "*Al-hamdu lillah*" (Praise be to God). The fellah in the Nile Delta will whisper "*Bismillah*" (In the name of God) as he sows his field. Egypt's President Anwar Sadat took a statesmanlike risk in making his historic trip to Jerusalem. Yet, as a devout Muslim, he knew that no mere man could control the outcome. Over and over he has said privately, "This is my fate, and I accept my fate, whatever the outcome."

"Nothing is profane to this very proximate God whose hand is everywhere," writes Arabist Peter A. Iseman. "Men's accidents are God's purposes, and All is Divine Plan. One of the more striking aspects of the Arabians is that doubt, inner guilt, anxiety are alien to them. Their world is more reassuring, pervaded as it is with a soothing sense of inevitability."

Much of Islam's resurgence can be seen as a quest for stability and roots, inspired by a disdain for Western values and for a kind of modernization that exacerbated economic and social problems in many Third World nations. Health clinics cut down on disease, but they also aggravated the population explosion in those Islamic nations where birth control is little practiced. Rapid growth of industry in cities provided jobs, but it also disrupted the sacrosanct family structure in villages as men streamed into cities in search of work.

Anwar Gamall, a senior at Cairo University, wonders why Egyptian television is clogged with American serials like *Charlie's Angels* and *Police Woman*. "What relevance do they have





The men of Islam: from Saudi Arabia, the Soviet Union, Iraq, Nigeria, China and India

to life in Egypt?" he asks. "What are Muslims supposed to do? Emulate those life-styles? Forget Islam and become a plastic person?" Nadia Fatim, a student at the same university, wears a modified veil and a floor-length robe. Says she: "It is a matter of identity. If you dress and behave Western, then you are compelled to be Western. But if you give yourself to Islam and its way and its dress and thought, then nothing can pressure you away from what you truly are. Islam gives you yourself."

Marvin Zonis, a specialist on Iran at the University of Chicago, observes that in Iran and elsewhere, "Islam is being used as a vehicle for striking back at the West, in the sense of people trying to reclaim a very greatly damaged sense of self-esteem. They feel that for the past 150 years the West has totally overpowered them culturally, and in the process their own institutions and way of life have become second rate." Says John Duke Anthony, a Middle East expert in Washington: "We are witnessing a reformation. Within the Islamic world, there is a sense that changes can be made so as to allow Islamic nations to adapt to the pressures of the latter part of this century."

Muslims can survive well enough as minorities, as they do in Britain, for example, where a huge new mosque facing Regent's Park in London stands as a symbol of a growing community, now a million strong. Yet Islam itself has had a dynamic manifest destiny; in a sense, it is a political faith with a yearning for expansion. Less than a hundred years after the death of Muhammad in A.D. 632, his followers had burst out of the Arabian desert to conquer and create an empire whose glories were to shine for a thousand years. A cavalry of God, they conquered the Persian Empire and much of the Byzantine, spreading the faith through Northern Africa into Spain, and through the Middle East to the Indus River. From there, devout Arab traders later carried their faith to Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and the Philippines. Other traders introduced the Koran to black tribes of Africa that lived south of the Sahara Desert.

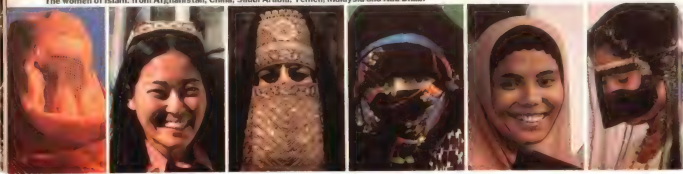
Later Islam fought successfully to preserve its ideological integrity in the face of Mongol invaders, Western Crusaders and, more recently, Western imperialists. But by the end of World War I, the Ottoman Empire had been dismembered and large portions of it brought under the domination of the colonizing nations of Christian Europe. European rule demonstrated how important it was for Islam to exercise temporal as well as spiritual power. At its nadir, in all the Arab world, only Yemen and Saudi Arabia, poor and backward, were nominally independent. Iran, Afghanistan and secularized Turkey, where Kemal Atatürk had disestablished Islam as his country's official religion in an effort to forge a stable and progressive nation, were free. But elsewhere—on the Indian subcontinent, in Southeast Asia, in Africa and the Pacific—millions of Muslims were under colonial rule.



The expanse of Islam: Polisario women (above) celebrate anniversary of Sahara Republic; gilded dome of Bandar Mosque in the Sultanate of Brunei



The women of Islam: from Afghanistan, China, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Malaysia and Abu Dhabi





# ISLAM

The resurgence of the Islamic world began with the end of World War II, when the war-weary European powers saw their colonial empires collapse one by one. Strong nationalist leaders were also Muslims, like Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser, rose to power; by the early '60s there was a belt of independent, predominantly Islamic states stretching from Morocco to Indonesia. For Muslims of the Middle East, one event in the past decade stands out as a modern landmark in the history of the faith. On the afternoon of Oct. 6, 1973, the cry of "Allahu Akbar!" (God is great) rose from the throats of Egyptian soldiers as they stormed across the Suez Canal and overran the lightly manned Israeli strong-points of the Bar Lev Line. Later the first Egyptian flag raised on the eastern bank of the canal was presented to the Grand Sheikh of Cairo's Al Azhar Mosque.

Military historians generally agree that Israel had the upper hand when a cease-fire ended the October War, 22 days after it began. Nonetheless, the initial Arab successes were hailed by Muslim commentators as the greatest victories since Saladin defeated the Crusaders at the Battle of Hittin in 1187 and recaptured Jerusalem. Muslims all over the world took pride in the early Egyptian-Syrian triumphs of the war and the even greater economic triumphs that grew out of the 1973 oil embargo.

A number of recent events have combined to focus Western attention on Islam: the resurgence of the faith in African politics, the oil wealth of the Arabian peninsula, the revolution in Iran. But many Muslims feel, with some justice, that this belated interest in their world and their faith has resulted in hostile propaganda rather than empathy and understanding.

Islam is frequently stereotyped as unmitigatedly harsh in its code of law, intolerant of other religions, repressive toward women and incompatible with progress. Salem Azzam, Saudi secretary-general of the Islamic Council of Europe, feels that the present resurgence is considered "retrograde and reactionary" because Westerners confuse what is happening in Islam with a revival of Christian fundamentalism. "Not only is this a baseless and arrogant assumption," says Azzam, but it is tantamount to "a return to colonialism—indirect but of a more profound type." Defenders of the faith further argue that Islam is not monolithic, that it is compatible with various social and economic systems, and that far from being a return to the Dark Ages, it is wholly consonant with progress. Items:

**Islam and Government.** Muhammad's teachings are fundamentally democratic, since they proclaim the equality of all men before God. In practice, Islamic nations, like other countries, have both liberals and conservatives, democrats and dictators. The Islamic socialists of Iraq and Libya—not to mention Iranian moderates who want to see a parliamentary democracy established by their new constitution—look with disdain on a semifundamental monarchy like Saudi Arabia. Says Hussein Bani-Assadi, son-in-law of Iran's Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan: "Ideologically, this revolution cannot support systems like Saudi Arabia's. Islam has no kings." The Saudis answer that they have an institution that serves the needs of their society: the *majlis*, where King Khalid and the major princes of the royal family can be approached by the humblest petitioner in the land. In essence, government in Islamic theory is to be a regulator rather than a direct agent in every sphere of life. Its prime duty is to ensure that the basic principles of social justice are realized.

**Islam and Economics.** A devout Muslim would be equally opposed to the materialism of the West and the atheism of Communism. Islam has a flexible view of economics, which lends itself to either capitalist or socialist interpretations. It approves individual initiative, respects private property and tolerates profits within limits. Muslims, in short, are encouraged by their faith to acquire the good things of this world, but the emphasis

is on moderation and communal responsibility. The Koran condemns usury, but interest is allowed if the money is to be used for the common good. In Saudi Arabia, Islamic banks have emerged side by side with Western banks. They do not charge interest but instead take equity in projects they finance, thus sharing in losses as well as profits.

Nothing is one of the five pillars of the Muslim faith. In several Islamic states, an annual tax of 2.5%, called the *zakat*, is levied against an individual's assets for the benefit of the community. The principle of wealth-sharing extends to governments as well. Saudi Arabia distributes about 7% of its ever-growing G.N.P. (estimated at \$66 billion in 1978) to less privileged Muslim states in the form of low-cost loans and gifts. By comparison, U.S. foreign aid last year amounted to only one-third of 1% of G.N.P. Mahbub Haq, an economist with the World Bank, foresees a billion-dollar World Muslim Foundation, financed by oil-rich Middle Eastern states, that will organize and provide aid for poor Islamic nations that adhered to the faith even during its years of ebb and decline. Says he: "The Muslim countries need their own OECD."

**Islam and Progress.** Muslim scholars insist that nothing in Islam is incompatible with technological advance or industrial development. In the days of the caliphs, Islam led the world in scientific and intellectual discoveries. What Muslims object to are the evils associated with modernization: the breakdown of the family structure, the lowering of moral standards, the appeal of easygoing secular life-styles. At the same time, Muslims are demanding the best of the West: schools, hospitals, technology, agricultural and water development techniques. Harvesting the fruits of modernization without absorbing some of its side-effects may prove to be impossible. But Sheikh Mahmoud Abu Obayed of Cairo's Al Azhar University says Muslims should strive for industrialization with "careful selectivity. We must choose what is suitable for us and reject what is harmful." Anwar Ibrahim, head of Malaysia's Islamic Youth Movement, puts it another way: "Does modernization mean having liquor factories? If so, then we are against modernization. Does modernization mean electronics factories? Then we are for modernization. There's nothing in Islam against development, but such development must have a moral basis. It must be just, not exploitative."

Dismay over the effects of industrialization helped fuel the popular unrest that brought down the Shah in what Princeton's Richard Falk calls "the first Third World revolution, one which is neither Marxist nor capitalist but indigenously Islamic." Some Iranian officials believe that their revolution will inspire other uprisings in the Muslim world. "I think a new era of Islamic struggle and a new Islamic awareness have been triggered by our revolution," says Ibrahim Yazdi, Deputy Prime Minister for Revolutionary Affairs. "From now on, all Islamic movements that were dormant or apologetic in their approach to change or action will come out in the open in the Muslim world."

Few doubt that Iran's revolution will have far-reaching effects, though it seems unlikely to be repeated. In many ways, the situation in Iran was a unique phenomenon in the Middle East. The Shah had a more limited base of support than the remaining monarchies in the Islamic world apparently have. Most Iranians belong to the Shi'ite branch of Islam, which predominates in Iran, Iraq and Kuwait. The holy men of Iran have a long history of political activism. As one religious leader toted a gun in post-revolutionary Tehran put it, "Politics is a part of life, and the mullah's field of interest is life itself." Moreover, the Iranian religious structure, unlike that in most Muslim countries, was financially independent of the government. But there are several Islamic nations where discontent could pose problems. Among them:

**Saudi Arabia.** The birthplace of Muhammad is the most strictly orthodox Muslim society on earth: rulers and ruled pro-



Minaret of Abu Dhabi mosque



# ISLAM

less adherence to the austere, fundamentalist Wahhabi sect, noted for its zealous enforcement of the Shari'a. But there is a widening gap between the very rich and very poor, a heavy influx of foreign workers, and a pace of development that may be too rapid for an underpopulated country to handle. Although the Wahhabi leaders have close links to the royal family, there is a small Islamic movement that is critical of the debauchery of spoiled princelings on their sojourns outside the country and that challenges the dynasty's claim to be the sole spokesman for Islam. Tapes by a Kuwaiti scholar, Dr. Abdullah Nafisi, attacking the Saudi rulers and heralding Khomeini as the "real Muslim," sell for \$200 on the black market in Jiddah.

**Egypt.** Despite his personal piety, President Sadat is the patriarch of the Middle East: he has now followed up his fearless offer of sanctuary to the Shah by signing a peace treaty with Israel. Some officials in Tehran have said that they expect Egypt to be the first country to feel the shock waves of their revolution. Sensing the potential for trouble, the government censored news of Iran's turmoil in the Egyptian press. Islamic fundamentalists, including the Muslim Brotherhood, are a growing force in the country. Islam is Egypt's state religion, but most of the *ulama* tend to support the government, in part because they are dependent on Cairo for religious funds. Many laymen, in fact, consider the *ulama* as part of the Establishment they seek to undermine. Last month Sadat issued a strong warning against religious interference in Egypt's political life. There must be, he said in a speech at Alexandria University, "no religion in politics, no politics in religion."

**Sudan.** The largest nation in Africa is linked to Egypt by a defense treaty, and the two countries have moved closer toward a political and economic confederation. President Gaafar Nimeiri endorsed Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and the Camp David accords, but that stand is not universally popular. Despite a policy of reconciliation aimed at ending the intrigues and coups that have plagued the Sudan since it became independent in 1956, Nimeiri still faces opposition from the National Front led by Anwar Sadiq al-Mahdi, who advocates an Islamic state like neighboring Libya. If Sadat were to fall from power, Nimeiri almost certainly would as well.

**Iraq.** The revolution in Iran has been a cause for some concern in the ruling Baath Party; its leadership is Sunni, while 52% of Iraq's 12 million people are Shi'ites. As in Iran, the *mulahs* have a tradition of political activism, and there have been violent clashes between religious dissidents and the regime's 125,000-man all-Sunni "popular army." Although government corruption and mismanagement of oil wealth are not major issues, General Saddam Hussein runs a tough police state: dissent is ruthlessly suppressed and Iraqi jails are said to hold thousands of political prisoners. The government's greatest worry is a revival of unrest among the 2 million Kurds, who share with their ethnic cousins in Turkey and Iran a desire for an autonomous Kurdistan of their own.

**Afghanistan.** Since September the pro-Soviet regime of President Noor Mohammed Taraki has been caught up in a bitter civil war. Moscow has charged—and Washington has angrily denied—that the U.S. instigated the rebellion. Some of the insurgents are inspired by tribal animosities, others by political

opposition to the government's leftist ways. According to one U.S. expert in the area, "Islam has proved to be the major unifying theme for the rebels." Many of them have moved to armed camps in Pakistan. Taraki has tried to highlight his own credentials as a good Muslim; recently the government publicized a letter of support from a group of Soviet Muslims across the border. But a number of *mulahs* have been arrested for speaking out against the government in the mosques, and some Iranian ayatullahs have called for support for the Afghan rebels.

**Turkey.** Islam is still a potent force in secular Turkey, and religious violence between the dominant Sunni Muslims and the Alevis, a Shi'ite sect, has recently injected a dangerous new element into the country's chronic political instability. Ancient rivalries between the two groups are being exploited by both right- and left-wing extremists. Last December Sunni gangs massacred a hundred Alevis in the southern Turkish town of Maras. But unlike the Shah's Iran, Turkey has a functioning democratic system, and no single issue or popular figure unites the opposition. The government is fearful, however, that "political opportunists" will try to capitalize on religious rancor.

CULVER PICTURES

Premier Bülent Ecevit has launched a vigorous television and radio campaign appealing for unity and tolerance.

**Soviet Union.** During a 1977 visit to Moscow by Libyan President Muammar Gaddafi, Soviet Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev proposed opening a Soviet consulate in Benghazi. Fine, said Gaddafi, Libya would like a consulate in Tashkent. "Why Tashkent?" asked Brezhnev. "Because I understand there are a lot of Muslims in that part of Russia," Gaddafi answered, "and I'd like to take care of them." Obviously unwilling to give the fiery Libyan a chance to arouse religious feelings among the Soviet Union's 50 million Muslims, the Kremlin leaders shelved the notion. The Muslims of the U.S.S.R. constitute a demographic time bomb for Moscow: by the year 2000 there will be 100 million of them, compared with an estimated 150 million Russians. Already party leaders in the Muslim republics of Central Asia



Etching, by a 19th century artist, of Saladin riding into battle  
*A quest for roots, and a desire to recapture a manifest destiny.*

are displaying political muscle by pressing for high-priority development projects.

Some observers believe that the Muslims have more freedom than any other religious group in the Soviet Union to practice their faith. The mosques are full on Fridays and holy days, and small delegations have been allowed to leave the country to take part in the hajj. Muslim leaders, the *mufitis*, have apparently worked out a kind of *modus vivendi* with the government; in exchange for being allowed to practice their religion they often support the government on major policy questions. Any kind of Islamic resistance to the Soviet system would probably emerge from a large network of Sufi brotherhoods, ultraconservative secret societies that are banned by Soviet law. Sufi adherents worship in clandestine mosques and practice a kind of "parallel Islam" to the officially sanctioned one.

Should the West be fearful of an Islamic revival? Most experts agree that in the long run the answer is no. In the immediate future, though, Washington obviously does worry about the consequences of more instability in the Middle East. Thus, as a result of the Iranian revolution, U.S. analysts are taking a much closer look at the social forces simmering in other Islamic nations, both poor and wealthy. Says Secretary of State

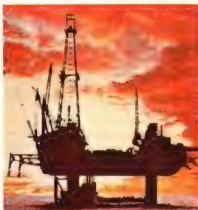
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Cyrus Vance: "The Islamic resurgence in a number of countries indicates a return to fundamental roots and a greater reliance on principles that were pushed aside in the move toward modernization." The revival of Islam does not portend a regressive return to the past or a rejection of all international ties. In the Administration's view, Muslim nations will continue to require economic support from and want to cooperate with Western industrialized countries.



In strategic matters also, U.S. analysts believe that Islam and the West have compatible goals. Basically, Islamic states are anti-Communist. Says a senior State Department official: "I think we share a common concern and can work together to develop a set of friendly relationships, which can lead to ultimate stability in the region." Whether or not that proves to be the case, the West can no longer afford to ignore or dismiss the living power of the Prophet's message.

## The Messenger of Allah

In a cave at the foot of Mount Hira near Mecca, where he had spent six months in solitary meditation, the vision came to Muhammad. The Angel Gabriel roused him from his bed with the stern command: "Proclaim!" Rubbing his eyes, the startled Muhammad gasped, "But what shall I proclaim?" Suddenly his throat tightened as though the angel were choking him. Again came the command: "Proclaim!" And again the terrified Muhammad felt the choking grip. "Proclaim!" ordered the angel for a third time. "Proclaim in the name of the Lord, the Creator who created man from a clot of blood! Proclaim! Your Lord is most gracious! It is he who has taught man by the pen that which he does not know."

Thus it was, according to Islamic tradition, that an unremarkable Arab trader from Mecca was inspired to preach God's word in the year A.D. 610. Compared with Jesus or the Buddha, information about the life of the man who became known as the Messenger of Allah is relatively abundant, although the facts have been embellished with pious folklore. Some have claimed that at Muhammad's birth the palace of the Persian emperor trembled, or that a mysterious light ignited at his mother's breast, shining all the way to Syria, 800 miles away. It was said that his body cast no shadow and that when his hair fell into a fire it would not burn. Muhammad himself disdained any miraculous claims, insisting that he was merely the all-too-human conduit through which God had revealed himself.

It is known that the Prophet was born about A.D. 570 to a member of the respected Meccan clan of Hashim. His father died shortly before Muhammad was born, and his mother when the boy was only six. Two years later, his doting grandfather Abd al-Muttalib died, leaving the orphan in the care of a poor uncle, Abu Talib. As a youth, Muhammad was set to work tending his uncle's herds; he later recalled that task as a mark of divine favor. "God sent no prophet who was not a herdsman," he told his disciples. "Moses was a herdsman. David was a herdsman. I, too, was commissioned for prophethood while I grazed my family's cattle."

As a young man, Muhammad was exposed to the currents of religious de-

bate then swirling through the Middle East. He would listen avidly as Jews and Christians argued over their faiths. Those discussions may have fed his dissatisfaction with the traditional polytheistic religion of the Arabs, who believed in a panoply of tribal gods and jinn, headed by a deity known as Allah. Says Muhammad's French biographer, Maxime Rodinson: "Both Jews and Christians despised the Arabs, regarding them as savages who did not even possess an organized church."

At 25, Muhammad accepted a marriage proposal from Khadijah, a rich Meccan widow 15 years his senior, for whom he had led a successful caravan. With his financial security assured by Khadijah's wealth and business, he began to venture into the desert, to contemplate and pray, as had other Arab holy men before him.

According to legend, Muhammad had earned a reputation as a wise and saintly man even before his first revelation from the angel on Mount Hira. Looking out from the balcony of his Mecca home one day, he saw the members of four clans arguing over which of them should be allowed to carry the Black Stone, a huge meteorite that the Arabs regarded as sacred, to its new resting place in a rebuilt shrine called the Ka'ba. Unknown to Muhammad, they had resolved to let the first man who walked into the sanctuary decide the matter. Entering the holy place, Muhammad proposed a satisfactory com-

promise: placing the Black Stone on a blanket, he instructed each tribe to lift one corner. Then he personally laid the meteorite in its new niche.

At 40, Muhammad began to preach the new faith of Islam, which was gradually being revealed to him on his sojourns in the desert. Some of this religion was familiar to Arabs who knew about the monotheistic teachings of Jews and Christians. His countrymen, for example, could readily accept Muhammad's assertion that Allah, long regarded as the highest of the desert gods, was the same God worshiped by Jews and Christians. But Meccan traders felt threatened by Muhammad's growing power. Both Jews and Christians questioned his claim that he was revealing the true word of God to the Arabs, in effect joining them as "People of the Book." In 622, after being harassed by his opponents, Muhammad and his followers escaped to Medina in a migration known as the *hijra*.

To a growing body of converts, Muhammad began to elaborate on his new religion. Revelations came to him in trances; his descriptions of those encounters, memorized and recorded by his adherents, were later collected as the Koran. As his followers grew in strength and numbers, Muhammad began a series of raids on Meccan caravans, which led to several indecisive battles with their avenging war parties. In 628 the Meccans agreed to let Muhammad's followers make their pilgrimage to the Ka'ba, which the new faith continued to regard as a sacred shrine. Muslims believe it is the spot where Abraham prepared to sacrifice his son Ishmael at God's command. Two years later the Prophet led an army of 10,000 into his former city, taking control in a bloodless victory.

For all the pious legends that grew up even in his lifetime, Muhammad remained a humble and, in some ways, unfulfilled man. He occasionally incurred the wrath of his wives and concubines. All of his sons died in childhood, leaving him with no male heir. In 632 he led a pilgrimage to Mecca, where he declared, "I have perfected your religion and completed my favors for you." Three months later he fell ill in Medina and died. To his zealous followers went the task of spreading the word of Allah, not only throughout Arabia but far beyond it as well.



The Angel Gabriel, from a Turkish print.

# A Faith of Law And Submission

*God's grandeur, and a path to follow*

**E**ight words in Arabic sum up the central belief of the world's 750 million Muslims: "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God." Five times a day, from Djakarta to Samarkand to Lagos, this *shahada* (confession of faith) is recited by the devout as muezzins (callers to prayer) summon them to worship God.

In the prescribed daily prayers, a pious Muslim does not beseech God for favors, either material or spiritual, so much as for guidance and mercy. The word Islam means submission, and the true Muslim submits his life to the divine will of a deity who is the Compassionate, the All Knowing, the Strong, the Protector, the All Powerful—to cite only a few of the traditional 99 "most Beautiful Names" of God.

Muslims believe that God decrees everything that happens in the cosmos. Some critical Western scholars contend that this doctrine leads to a kind of passive fatalism, but Islamic theologians strongly deny that *qadar* (divine will) negates a person's freedom to act. It merely means, says Muhammad Abdul Rauf, director of the Islamic Center in Washington, that "when some misfortune befalls us, we resign ourselves to it as something coming from God, instead of despairing."

Islam stresses the uniqueness of the Creator, and strictly forbids *shirk*—that is, the association of anyone or anything with God's divinity. Along with Moses and Abraham, Jesus is revered by Muslims as one of the 25 scriptural prophets of God, and Islam accepts both his virgin birth and his miracles. But Muslims believe that Christian faith in the divinity of Jesus is polytheism. They resent being called "Muhammadans," which suggests that Muhammad's role in Islam is similar to that of Jesus in Christianity. The Prophet is revered as God's final Messenger to mankind, but is not worshiped as a divine being.

Because they accept the Bible, Jews and Christians have a special status in Islam as "People of the Book." Muslims also believe that the Bible in its present form is corrupt and that the true faith was revealed only to Muhammad. Those revelations are contained in the Koran, the Arabic word for recitation. Slightly shorter than the New Testament, the Koran has little narrative. There are evocations of divine grandeur in rhymed prose, florid descriptions of the harsh fate that awaits those who knowingly ignore God's will, and detailed instructions on specific ways that man must submit to his maker.

The basic spiritual duties of Islam are summed up in the so-called five pillars of faith. They are: 1) accepting the *shahada*; 2) the daily prayers to God while facing Mecca; 3) charitable giving; 4) fasting during the daylight hours of Ramadan, a 29- or 30-day month in Islam's lunar calendar; and 5) making the hajj, or pilgrimage, to Mecca at least once in an individual's lifetime—if he or she is financially and physically able. Some Muslims argue that there is a sixth pillar of the faith, namely jihad. The word is frequently translated as "holy war"; in fact, it can refer to many forms of striving for the faith, such as an inner struggle.

\*By the Islamic calendar, this is the year 1399, dated from Muhammad's Hijra to Medina.



gle for purification or spreading Islamic observance and justice by whatever means.

During the hajj, pilgrims throng Mecca, the men clad in two seamless white garments and sandals, the women in white head-to-toe covering. The pilgrims walk seven times around the Ka'ba,

a cubical stone building covered by a gold-embroidered black canopy, in the exterior wall of which is set the Black Stone. The interior, now empty, once housed pagan idols, which Muhammad destroyed. The pilgrims also visit other holy sites, act out the search for water by Hagar, the mother of the Arab nation, perform a vigil on Mount 'Arafat (site of the Prophet's last sermon) and conduct a ritual sacrifice of goats, sheep and camels.

The devout Muslim is also expected to observe the Shari'a, which means "the path to follow." Based on the Koran, the deeds and sayings of Muhammad and the consensus of Islamic scholars, the Shari'a is not just a compilation of criminal and civil law, but a complex, all embracing code of ethics, morality and religious duties. It is a sophisticated system of jurisprudence that summarizes 1,400 years of experience and constantly adapts, in subtle ways, to new circumstances.

In Western eyes, however, the Shari'a all too often is denigrated as a relic of the Dark Ages. Some of its provisions do seem awesomely harsh: habitual thieves are punished by having a hand cut off; adulterers are either scourged or stoned to

death; falsely accusing a woman of adultery calls for 80 lashes—the same penalty imposed on a Muslim caught drinking alcohol. The equivalence of the two punishments exemplifies the time-honored logic of the Shari'a. The Koran forbade the drinking of wine, but did not specify a punishment: 80 lashes, however, was decreed for those who bore false witness. Making the analogy that drink leads to hallucination and to telling untruths, Islamic sages decided that the punishment for the two sins should be the same.

Muslim jurists contend that stoning is no more typical of Islamic justice than extra-tough state laws against the possession of drugs are representative of the American legal tradition. Beyond that, the threat of the Shari'a is usually more severe than the reality. As in Western common law, defendants are presumed innocent until proved guilty. To convict adulterers, four witnesses must be found to testify that they saw the illicit act performed. Moreover, there are loopholes in the law and liberal as well as strict interpretations of it. For example, a thief can lose his hand only if he steals "in a just society"; the provision has been used by Islamic courts to spare men who steal because they are poor and have no other means to feed their families.

In Iran particularly, the reintroduction of the Shari'a under an Islamic republic is seen as a threat to rights that women won under the monarchy. Feminists do have reason to complain. Islamic law tolerates polygamy, so long as a husband treats his wives equally, and he can end a marriage simply by saying "I divorce thee" three times in front of witnesses. A woman may request a divorce under certain circumstances—for example, if she is mistreated or her husband is impotent. Women must dress modestly, and their inheritance is limited to a fraction of that of men. In defense of these sexist inequities, scholars of the Shari'a note that Islamic law was advanced for its time. Before Muhammad, women in Arabia were mere chattel. The Koran emphatically asserts a husband's duty to support his wife (or wives), who are allowed to keep their dowries and to own property—rights that did



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not emerge until much later in Western countries.

All Muslims accept the Koran as God's eternal word, but Islam to some extent is a house divided, although its divisions are not as extensive as those in Christianity. About 90% of all Muslims are Sunnis (from *sunnah*, "the tradition of the Prophet"), who consider themselves Islam's orthodoxy. In Iran and Iraq, the majority of Muslims are Shi'ites ("partisans" of 'Ali), who differ from the Sunnis in some of their interpretations of the Shari'a and in their understanding of Muhammad's succession. The Prophet left no generally recognized instructions on how the leadership of Islam would be settled after his death. The Sunnis believe that its leader should be nominated by representatives of the community and confirmed by a general oath of allegiance. Shi'ites contend that Muhammad's spiritual authority was passed on to his cousin and son-in-law, 'Ali, and certain of his direct descendants who were known as Imams. Most Iranian Shi'ites believe that 'Ali's twelfth successor, who disappeared mysteriously in 878, is still alive and will return some day as the Mahdi (the Divinely Appointed Guide), a Messiah-like leader who will establish God's kingdom on earth. Meanwhile, Shi'ite religious leaders, such as Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini, have wide powers to advise the faithful on the presumed will of the "Hidden Imam." Sunni religious scholars, the ulama, have less authority, though both branches of Islam consider their leaders to be teachers and sages rather than ordained clergymen in the Western sense.



Both Sunni and Shi'ite Islam include Sufism, a mystical movement whose adherents seek to serve God not simply through obedience to the law but by striving for union with him through meditation and ritual. Sufism is considered suspect by fundamentalist Muslims like the puritanical Wahhabis of Saudi Arabia, because it allows for the veneration of *awliya*—roughly the equivalent of Christianity's saints. Islam also has spawned a number of heretical offshoots. One is the Alawi sect, a Shi'ite minority group to which most of Syria's leaders belong. The Alawis believe in the transmigration of souls and a kind of trinity in which 'Ali is Allah incarnate. Another is the secretive Druze sect of Israel, Lebanon and Syria, which split away from Islam in the 11th century. America's so-called Black Muslims were once generally regarded by Sunni Muslims as followers of a new heresy. By adopting orthodox beliefs and discarding a rule that limited membership to black Americans, the World Community of Islam in the West, as the movement is now known, has been accepted as being part of the true faith.

Islam is not a collection of individual souls but a spiritual community; its sectarian divisions, as well as the man-made barriers of race and class that Islam opposes, dissolve dramatically at the haji. Once a pilgrimage made mostly by Muslims of the Middle East and North Africa, the haji has become a universal and unifying ritual. For those who have taken part in it, the haji acts as a constant testament to Islam's vision of a divine power that transcends all human frailties.

## Some sayings from a Holy Book

*The grandeur of the Koran is difficult to convey in English translation. Although Islam's Holy Book is considered God's precise word only in Arabic, a generally recognized English text is that of Abdullah Yusuf 'Ali.*

**THE OPENING PRAYER.** In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Praise be to God, the Cherisher and Sustainer of the Worlds; Most Gracious, Most Merciful; Master of the Day of Judgment. Thee do we worship, and Thine aid we seek. Show us the straight way, the way of those on whom Thou hast bestowed Thy Grace, whose (portion) is not wrath, and who go not astray.

**THE NATURE OF GOD.** God! There is no god but He—the Living, the Self-subsisting, Eternal. No slumber can seize Him, nor sleep. His are all things in the heavens and on earth. Who is there can intercede in His presence except as He permitteth? He knoweth what (appear-eth to His creatures as) Before or After or Behind them. Nor shall they compass aught of His knowledge except as He willeth. His Throne doth extend over the heavens and the earth, and He feel-eth no fatigue in guarding and preserv- ing them.

**DRINKING AND GAMBLING.** They ask thee concerning wine and gambling. Say: "In them is great sin, and some profit, for men: but the sin is greater than the profit."

**THEFT.** Male or female, cut off his or her hands: a punishment by way of example, from God, for their crime: and



Muslims in Soviet Union reading the Koran

God is Exalted in Power. But if the thief repent after his crime, and amend his conduct, God turneth to him in forgiveness, for God is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful.

**POLYGAMY.** If ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly with the orphans, marry women of your choice, two, or three, or four; but if ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly (with them) then only one, or (a captive) that your right hands possess.

**CHRISTIANS.** They do blaspheme who say: "God is Christ the son of Mary." But said Christ: "O Children of Israel! Worship God, my Lord and your Lord." Whoever joins other gods with God—God will forbid him the Garden, and the Fire will be his abode.

**THE DAY OF JUDGMENT.** When the sun is folded up; when the stars fall, losing their lustre; when the mountains vanish: when the she-camels, ten months with young, are left untended; when the wild beasts are herded together; when the oceans boil over with a swell;... when the World on High is unveiled; when the Blazing Fire is kindled to fierce heat; and when the Garden is brought near;—(Then) shall each soul know what it has put forward.

**PARADISE.** (Here is) a Parable of the Garden which the righteous are promised: In it are rivers of water incorruptible; rivers of milk of which the taste never changes; rivers of wine, a joy to those who drink; and rivers of honey pure and clear. In it there are for them all kinds of fruit, and Grace from their Lord. (Can those in such bliss) be compared to such as shall dwell forever in the Fire, and be given, to drink, boiling water, so that it cuts up their bowels?



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# Islam, Orientalism And the West

An attack on learned ignorance



In an angry, provocative new book called *Orientalism* (Pantheon; \$15), Edward Said, 43, Parr Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University, argues that the West has tended to define Islam in terms of the alien categories imposed on it by Orientalist scholars. Professor Said is a member of the Palestine National Council, a broadly based, informal parliament of the Palestine Liberation Organization. He summarized the thesis of *Orientalism* in this article for TIME.

One of the strangest, least examined and most persistent of human habits is the absolute division made between East and West, Orient and Occident. Almost entirely "Western" in origin, this imaginative geography that splits the world into two unequal, fundamentally opposite spheres has brought forth more myths, more detailed ignorance and more ambitions than any other perception of difference. For centuries Europeans and Americans have spellbound themselves with Oriental mysticism, Oriental passivity, Oriental mentalities. Translated into policy, displayed as knowledge, presented as entertainment in travelers' reports, novels, paintings, music or films, this "Orientalism" has existed virtually unchanged as a kind of daydream that could often justify Western colonial adventures or military conquest. On the "Marvels of the East" (as the Orient was known in the Middle Ages) a fantastic edifice was constructed, invested heavily with Western fear, desire, dreams of power and, of course, a very partial knowledge. And placed in this structure has been "Islam," a great religion and a culture certainly, but also an Occidental myth, part of what Disraeli once called "the great Asiatic mystery."

As represented for Europe by Muhammad and his followers, Islam appeared out of Arabia in the 7th century and rapidly spread in all directions. For almost a millennium Christian Europe felt itself challenged (as indeed it was) by this last monotheistic religion, which claimed to complete its two predecessors. Perplexingly grand and "Oriental," incorporating elements of Judeo-Christianity, Islam never fully submitted to the West's power. Its various states and empires always provided the West with formidable political and cultural contestants—and with opportunities to affirm a "superior" Occidental identity. Thus, for the West, to understand Islam has meant trying to convert its variety into a monolithic undeveloping essence, its originality into a debased copy of Christian culture, its people into fearsome caricatures.

Early Christian polemicists against Islam used the Prophet's human person as their butt, accusing him of whoring, sedition, charlatanism. As writing about Islam and the Orient burgeoned—60,000 books between 1800 and 1950—European powers occupied large swatches of "Islamic" territory, arguing that since Orientals knew nothing about democracy and were essentially passive, it was the "civilizing mission" of the Occident, expressed in the strict programs of despotic modernization, to finally transform the Orient into a nice replica of the West. Even Marx seems to have believed this.

There were, however, great Orientalist scholars; there were genuine attempts, like that of Richard Burton (British explorer who translated the *Arabian Nights*), at coming to terms with Islam. Still, gross ignorance persisted, as it will whenever fear of the different gets translated into attempts at domination. The U.S. inherited the Orientalist legacy, and uncritically employed it in its universities, mass media, popular culture, imperial policy. In films and cartoons, Muslim Arabs, for example, are represented either as bloodthirsty mobs, or as hook-nosed, lecherous sadists. Academic experts decreed that in Islam everything

is Islamic, which amounted to the edifying notions that there was such a thing as an "Islamic mind," that to understand the politics of Algeria one had best consult the Koran, that "they" (the Muslims) had no understanding of democracy, only of repression and medieval obscurantism. Conversely,

it was argued that so long as repression was in the U.S. interest, it was not Islamic but a form of modernization.

The worst misjudgments followed. As recently as 1967 the head of the Middle East Studies Association wrote a report for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare asserting that the region including the Middle East and North Africa was not a center of cultural achievement, nor was it likely to become one in the near future. The study of the region or its languages, therefore, did not constitute its own reward so far as modern culture is concerned. High school textbooks routinely produced descriptions of Islam like the following: "It was started by a wealthy businessman of Arabia called Muhammad. He claimed that he was a prophet. He found followers among other Arabs. He told them that they were picked to rule the world." Whether Palestinian Arabs lost their land and political rights to Zionism, or Iranian poets were tortured by the SAVAK, little time was spent in the West wondering if Muslims suffered pain, would resist oppression or experienced love and joy; to

Westerners, "they" were different from "us" since Orientals did not feel about life as "we" did.

No one saw that Islam varied from place to place, subject to both history and geography. Islam was unhesitatingly considered to be an abstraction, never an experience. No one bothered to judge Muslims in political, social, anthropological terms that were vital and nuanced, rather than crude and provocative. Suddenly it appeared that "Islam" was back when Ayatollah Khomeini, who derives from a long tradition of opposition to an outrageous monarchy, stood on his national, religious and political legitimacy as an Islamic righteous man. Menachem Begin took himself to be speaking for the West when he said he feared this return to the Middle Ages, even as he covered Israeli occupation of Arab land with Old Testament authorizations. Western leaders worried about their oil, so little appreciated by

the Islamic hordes who thronged the streets to topple the Light of the Aryans.

Were Orientalists at last beginning to wonder about their "Islam," which they said had taught the faithful never to resist unlawful tyranny, never to prize any values over sex and money, never to disturb fate? Did anyone stop to doubt that F-15 planes were the answer to all our worries about "Islam"? Was Islamic punishment, which tantalized the press, more irreducibly vicious than, say, napalming Asian peasants?

We need understanding to note that repression is not principally Islamic or Oriental but a reprehensible aspect of the human phenomenon. "Islam" cannot explain everything in Africa and Asia, just as "Christianity" cannot explain Chile or South Africa. If Iranian workers, Egyptian students, Palestinian farmers resist the West or the U.S., it is as a concrete response to a specific policy injuring them as human beings. Certainly a European or American would be entitled to feel that the Islamic multitudes are underdeveloped; but he would also have to concede that underdevelopment is a relative cultural and economic judgment and not mainly "Islamic" in nature.

Under the vast idea called Islam, which the faithful look to for spiritual nourishment in their numerous ways, an equally vast, rich life passes, as detailed and as complex as any. For comprehension of that life Westerners need what Orientalist Scholar Louis Massignon called a science of compassion, knowledge without domination, common sense not mythology. In Iran and elsewhere Islam has not simply "returned"; it has always been there, not as an abstraction or a war cry but as part of a way people believe, give thanks, have courage and so on. Will it not ease our fear to accept the fact that people do the same things inside as well as outside Islam, that Muslims live in history and in our common world, not simply in the Islamic context? ■



Columbia Professor Edward Said



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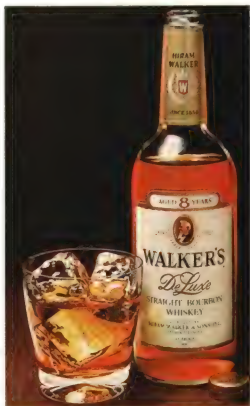
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## World

MIDDLE EAST

# The Road to El Arish

*A sense of apprehension over the negotiations ahead*

It was at least a symbol of what the partners in peace had accomplished: last week the blue-and-white Israeli flag flew above the highest rampart of the Kubbah Palace, official residence of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. Arriving in Cairo for a 27-hour state visit, Israeli Premier Menachem Begin found his host somewhat absorbed in his fondering relations with other Arab nations. But after a day of cordial talks, the two leaders were able to announce the next steps in the peace process. On May 26, Israel will return the Sinai town of El Arish to Egyptian sovereignty. On the following day Sadat and Begin will fly together from El Arish to Beersheba in the Israeli Negev desert for further discussions.

The two leaders also confirmed some other matters that had been largely settled in Washington last month. A direct telephone hot line will be set up immediately between Cairo and Jerusalem, and after the El Arish meeting next month, air links will be established between the two countries.

Begin was in a notably euphoric mood when he reported to a somewhat skeptical Knesset on his latest travels. With a touch of awe in his voice, the Premier declared that "they played the *Hatikva* [the Israeli national anthem] in Cairo." Shouted right-wing Backbencher Geula Cohen: "They will play it in Amman [Jordan] as well, if you give them Jerusalem!" But the members of parliament were generally appreciative until Begin mentioned the only new agreement to come from the trip: Sadat had agreed that the Israelis could keep a laundry at Kibbutz Neot-Sinai, a mile east of El Arish, until the final withdrawal from the peninsula in early 1983. That news brought a chorus of catcalls from hecklers: "What about the laundry? Is that your biggest achievement?"

A day later Begin made an unhappy visit to Yamit, one of fifteen Sinai settlements that will be returned to Egyptian sovereignty under the peace plan. Though the residents were angry, they listened quietly as Begin told them that the choice had been between peace or giving up the Sinai communities: "I know it hurts. It hurts me too. But all we did was for peace and for the future of the Israeli people." One problem concerning the transition of the Sinai to Egyptian control is that the mandate of the 4,000 U.N. soldiers presently on duty there is scheduled to end on July 24. The Soviet Union has already served notice that it is reluctant to have

them remain in the Sinai beyond that date. The U.S. hopes to change Moscow's mind; failing that, it will try to assemble a multinational force to patrol the Sinai until the Israeli withdrawal is complete.

Begin's visit to Cairo had come at a slightly awkward moment for Sadat. Meeting in Baghdad, the Foreign Ministers of 18 Arab countries and the Palestine Liberation Organization had agreed to take diplomatic and economic action against Egypt, including the break-

ing of diplomatic relations and the removal of Arab League headquarters from Cairo to Tunis. On the day of Begin's arrival, in fact, almost all Arab ambassadors were bound for Cairo airport on their way home. Sadat's willingness to receive Begin at such a moment suggested to foreign observers the degree of his determination to stay on his present course.

A more telling sign of that purpose was a spirited, three-hour speech by Sadat to the People's Assembly, in which he strongly defended the treaty he had signed with Israel. Sadat dismissed the Baghdad meeting as "emotional, hysterical, and insulting to Egypt." Replying to the Arabs' charges of treason, Sadat declared: "Egypt is not and has never been a traitor. I did not achieve peace for the sake of materialism; I wanted to put an end to an unending situation. When I can save my people from the misery of war, there is no price tag involved."

Sadat, who late last week decided to recall his ambassadors from Saudi Arabia and six other Arab countries, refrained from criticizing the Saudis; he hopes they will continue to provide him with \$1.5 billion a year in economic aid. But he had angry words for other Arab leaders who opposed him at Baghdad. He denounced his onetime friend and ally Syrian President Hafez Assad as "a coward." As for another old friend, Jordan's King Hussein, Sadat recalled scornfully



Sadat addressing the People's Assembly



Israel's Premier and Egypt's President toasting each other at a banquet in the Kubbah Palace. Israeli flags were flying and the *Hatikva* was played in Cairo, but troubles lie ahead.

## World

that while the Syrians and Jordanians were massacring the Palestinians in years past, Egypt was helping them gain recognition. Sadat also denounced Libya's Muammar Gaddafi, who has been Sadat's enemy for several years and recently reinforced his troops along the Egyptian border. Sadat left little doubt that, if the Libyans gave him a reasonable excuse, he would move his own forces across the border to teach Gaddafi a lesson.

Sadat also urged the Palestinians to join in forthcoming talks on autonomous rule for the West Bank and Gaza and to realize that "demonstrations will not throw the occupation troops out of your land." As for the leaders of the P.L.O., Sadat warned: "If they try to seize or harm one of our ambassadors, I will retaliate. I will not return one stab with two, but with a hundred, or a thousand."

**E**ven as Sadat spoke, a campaign of P.L.O. terrorism in protest against the Egyptian-Israeli treaty was under way. A bomb exploded at Frankfurt airport in a package bound for an Israeli school in Jerusalem. The American embassy in Beirut was attacked by rocket-propelled grenades, and there were sabotage attempts made against Israeli and Egyptian embassies and airline offices in Cyprus and Turkey. U.S. companies in Norway were warned against terrorist attacks coinciding with the visit of Vice President Walter Mondale in mid-April. Acting on a tip, the Israelis captured a small ship with six terrorists aboard as it sailed from Cyprus toward Israel's Mediterranean coast.

On all sides there was a sense of apprehension about the next stage of negotiations, which will probably begin during the second week of May. The subject is the crucial problem of the Middle East, the future of the Palestinians. So far, the Israelis and the Egyptians are far apart on their concepts of what autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza means. As one U.S. analyst puts it, "For Begin, 'autonomy' is barely a millimeter beyond what exists now. For Sadat, it's a millimeter or so short of full sovereignty."

The negotiators, who for at least the present will again include only Egypt, Israel and the U.S., must somehow devise a formula that the Palestinians, as well as the moderate Arabs, will recognize as real and not sham autonomy. One key issue is whether the self-governing councils to be set up for the West Bank and Gaza will have control over land and water. That would give the Arab residents the authority to curb Israeli settlements and the right to drill for water on public land, something that has been largely denied them since the Israeli occupation began in 1967. Predicts one U.S. analyst: "If the self-governing authority that is decided on is a real one—not just the dog catchers and the garbage collectors—then the people in the area will get involved. They'll run for election."

UGANDA

## Africa's Most Curious War

*Kampala gives up, but Big Daddy is still at large*

**"A**s Conqueror of the British Empire, I am prepared to die in defense of the motherland, Uganda." With his habitual bombast, Uganda's murderous President-for-Life Idi Amin Dada, 55, last week tried to put the best face on his disintegrating hold on national power. It was, apparently, a futile effort. After several days of sporadic fighting, the occupation force of largely Ugandan exile troops entered the outskirts of Kampala and prepared for a final push. Though scattered fighting still continued in pockets, the invading forces were poised to take control of Uganda's capital.

The seven-month war, which already ranks as one of the most curious in Africa's history, seemed to be fizzling out rather than concluding with a bang. The

quarters, where thousands had been tortured and killed by Amin's secret police, the State Research Bureau. Soon afterward, Entebbe Airport was in Tanzanian hands, along with one of Amin's ornate state residences near by.

Meanwhile, there was considerable confusion as to Amin's whereabouts. Earlier in the week the self-styled Conqueror had displayed his ample, 300-lb. presence, bedecked in a blue air marshal's uniform and ribbons, in different parts of Jinja. Driving around the city in his favorite Citroën-Maserati, and followed by a fleet of Mercedes-borne aides, he alternately threatened his dispirited troops with execution and pleaded with them to withstand the "exhausted" enemy. Late Friday, Amin's voice came over Radio



Ugandan Dictator Idi Amin Dada and an old nemesis, Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere

*If it was the end at last, where was the "Conqueror of the British Empire"?*

remnants of Amin's forces, accompanied by most of the 2,700 troops sent by Libyan Strongman Muammar Gaddafi to help him, had retreated to Jinja, Uganda's second largest city. Some observers thought the Tanzanians had deliberately left the exit route east from Kampala open to permit the Libyans a face-saving exodus by an airstrip at Jinja some 60 miles to the east of the capital.

Kampala itself slipped out of Amin's grasp with what one resident Western diplomat called "an eerie silence." Inching forward with extraordinary caution, the invading columns moved into the suburbs of the city from the southwest; they discovered a capital bereft of both defending troops and most of its civilian inhabitants. The Libyans, who two weeks ago had pushed the Tanzanians and Ugandan exiles out of Kampala's suburbs with a sharp counterattack, had already moved out of the city to avoid entrapment. One of the first landmarks to fall was the notorious Makindye military police head-

quarters loud and clear in a broadcast said to have originated in the station's Kampala studio. In a rambling speech, he lauded the mostly invisible economic achievements of his eight-year regime and announced that the invading Tanzanian army was "sitting on fire and would not survive."

The Tanzania-based Uganda National Liberation Front was already trying to take over local administration by dispatching district commissioners to towns it controls in southern and western Uganda. The Front was also prepared to establish a new government in Kampala once the city was firmly under its control. No one could be quite sure when that would happen. Amin might decide to make a brave last stand at Jinja, or he might simply flee to either Libya or neighboring Kenya. But it was also not beyond belief that Big Daddy would simply disappear into the bush, and carry on with a government-in-exile somewhere in the wilds of northern Uganda.





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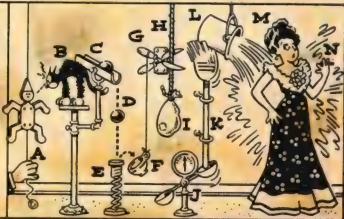
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## World

PAKISTAN

### Bhutto's Sudden, Shabby End

*A secret execution inspires revulsion and protest*

*"If I am assassinated on the gallows, there will be turmoil and turbulence, conflict and conflagration."*

—A death-cell prediction by former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

The sputter of midnight traffic had given way to the long wait for dawn when the 1,400 inmates of Rawalpindi District Jail began to pray. Imperceptibly at first, their murmur grew as they recited from the Koran; the time for execution was approaching. Shortly before 2 a.m., the prisoner, gaunt and ailing, was led from his dungeon death cell to the scaffolding. His hands were tied behind his back. Stepping to the gallows he cried out, according to one account, "Oh Lord, help me, for I am innocent." Thirty-five minutes later, the body was cut down, taken away to a waiting air force plane and flown to the town of Larkana, 200 miles northeast of Karachi. There, in his family's burial plot, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, 51, the most popular civilian politician to come to power in Pakistan's 32 years of independence, was hastily interred last week before the country was told of his death.

It was a sudden and shabby end to a once illustrious political career and a long personal ordeal for Bhutto. It began when his government was overthrown by General Mohammed Zia ul-Haq in July 1977. The former Prime Minister was arrested and subsequently charged with concocting a botched plot to assassinate Ahmed Raza Kasuri, 43, a former political associate, in 1974. Kasuri survived the ambush by gunmen who fired on his car, but his father was killed. There were doubts about the extent of Bhutto's guilt and the fairness of his original trial. When the Supreme Court, by a narrow 4-to-3 majority, upheld the guilty verdict, pleas for clemency poured in from world leaders, including President Carter, the Soviet

Union's Leonid Brezhnev, China's Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng), Britain's James Callaghan and Pope John Paul II.

Several months ago, Zia had served notice that he intended to "hang the blighter," as he put it, but hope persisted that he would spare Bhutto's life if only to save his troubled country from another divisive emotional trauma. Thus reaction to the execution last week was one of shock and dismay. French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who had just drafted another appeal to Zia, expressed his "profound emotion" at the execution. Britain's *Guardian* editorialized: "Death came to Bhutto not with the due panoply of justice but like a thief in the night, a deed done shamefully, apprehensively, and with desperation."

In an attempt to forestall protests in Pakistan, the government carried out the death sentence in utmost secrecy. The time of the execution was moved up four hours from the usual 6 a.m. so that Bhutto's body could be buried before the news broke. Armed police were moved into position around the prison during the night. Three Pakistani journalists on the scene were arrested and held until the next day. Only Bhutto's wife Nusrat and his daughter Benazir, 26, who have been under house arrest near Islamabad for months, were informed that the end was near. They were taken to Bhutto's grimy cell, equipped only with a bare mattress on the floor, for a final visit.

Despite martial law and a massive police presence in major cities, violent disturbances broke out all across the country. After an impassioned prayer meeting in Rawalpindi's Liaquat Gardens, 5,000 grieving Pakistanis clashed with police, hurling glass and rocks at buses and cars. One bus was burned before police dispersed the crowd with tear gas. "We are

fed up," said an office worker as he fled for shelter. "Our own leaders are the enemy. Zia should hang by the same rope."

A spellbinding orator who conveyed the image of a populist reformer, Bhutto was the son of a wealthy landowner from Sind province. After earning degrees from the University of California at Berkeley and from Oxford, where he cultivated a taste for fine tailoring and vintage wines, he began his career as a delegate to the U.N. As Foreign Minister in the military government of General Muhammad Ayub Khan, he helped fashion Pakistan's policy of friendship with China. After his country's humiliating defeat in the war that led to independence for Bangladesh, Bhutto, who had quit the Cabinet in 1966 to form his own party, was asked by the generals to take over the government. In what was perhaps his finest hour, he restored national pride, negotiated the release of nearly 90,000 prisoners of war, initiated political and economic reforms and gave the country its longest period of civilian rule in three decades.

But Bhutto's followers were accused of blatantly rigging the March 1977 elections to ensure his party an overwhelming victory. After months of rioting and turmoil, Bhutto agreed to void the election. A few days later, General Zia, whom Bhutto had named army Chief of Staff, overthrew the government.

There may have been some cold-eyed motives behind Zia's rejection of world opinion and his decision to ignore the Supreme Court's implied suggestion of clemency. Zia and his military supporters took a calculated risk—namely, that the long-term benefits of getting rid of a political nemesis outweighed the immediate law-and-order problem raised by pro-Bhutto demonstrations. Whether or not the generals win their gamble, the execution of this proud but flawed man was a dangerous event for an unstable country with pressing economic problems and a frustrated electorate. ■



Mourning women in Rawalpindi gather for prayers following execution of former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (inset)





ITALY

## An Election for Democratic Unity

*The Communists want power, but may not get it*

**I**t is the hour of change! The Communist Party must govern! That chant resounded through the high-domed chambers of Rome's Palazzo dello Sport last week as bespectacled Communist Leader Enrico Berlinguer rose to address his party's 15th national congress. From a lectern bearing the hammer and sickle symbol, he issued a strident challenge: "The Communist Party has always stood on the very threshold of power. If the national and political crisis is to be solved once and for all, we must cross that threshold."

Italy's President Alessandro Pertini had dissolved parliament while the congress was in session, thereby turning it into a rousing pre-campaign rally. In late spring, Italians will go to the polls to elect a new parliament from which will come the country's 42nd government since the overthrow of Mussolini 36 years ago. In effect, Berlinguer has declared that the elections—which take place two years ahead of schedule—will be a referendum on whether or not the Communists should be included in a coalition of "democratic unity."

That prospect, which causes shudders in Washington and other Western capitals, arose because Premier Giulio Andreotti finally gave up on a government that was "born to die," as newspapers called it. In January an Andreotti-led government that had ruled Italy since last spring collapsed when the Communists withdrew their support. At Pertini's behest, Andreotti then put together a jerry-built minority government consisting of his own Christian Democrats, the Republicans and the Social Democrats. The Premier's scenario was to present this weakling coalition to the senate, get a no-confidence vote that would lead to the dissolution of parliament and then to pre-side over elections. Italian politics being what they are, the elaborate strategy almost backfired. As the senate session got under way, word spread that members of the right-wing National Democratic Party would unexpectedly vote to keep Andreotti's government in power. In the end, Andreotti managed to topple his government by only one vote, 150 to 149.

The Premier had many reasons for wanting early elections now. Although 1.7 million Italians are out of work and inflation (annual rate: 12.9%) remains high, Andreotti's policies have helped stabilize the lira and brought the economy to the verge of a new boom. In 1978 Italy piled

up an impressive \$6.4 billion balance of payments surplus and increased exports by 10%. Says an aide to the Premier: "In the last three years, we put through more constructive legislation than all the governments of the past 15 years put together." The Christian Democrats hope to regain the support of disillusioned centrists who tend to blame the Communists for the crimes of Italy's radical terrorists. They also are counting on the protest



Communist Leader Berlinguer addressing party congress

*A concern with respectability was very much on display.*

votes of people who have lived in cities and districts controlled by the Communists for the past three or four years. Says a high-ranking Socialist: "The Communists have proved they are no more efficient in government than are the other parties. Honest, perhaps. Efficient, no."

All this has contributed to the most ebullient pre-electoral mood the Christian Democrats have had since the 1950s. Their most optimistic strategists predict that the party will increase its share of the total vote from the 39% scored in 1976 to as much as 42%. That big a gain might allow the party to form a centrist or center-left government from which the Communists could be excluded altogether.

Berlinguer has conceded that "this election will be more difficult for us than that of 1976," when the Communists gar-

nered a record 34% of the vote. Since 1977, more than 23,000 members have left the party, which also has lost a number of key local elections. Communist leaders are trying to downplay the defections. "If we lose votes, they will be from the middle-class voters who came to us in 1976," says Antonio Tatò, a party spokesman. "But we will keep our basic constituency, the working class, and no government will be able to ignore the party that represents the workers."

Berlinguer hopes to attract new support by portraying the Communists as a responsible party that deserves to have a share in governing Italy. Party candidates will undoubtedly argue that Andreotti's

legislative successes were due largely to the fact that the Communists were part of his parliamentary majority, if not of his government. During that period, moreover, Italy enjoyed an era of relative labor calm.

**T**he Communists' concern with respectability was very much on display at last week's congress. When Armando Cossutta, a pro-Soviet hard-liner who is known as "the Man of Moscow," admonished the party to refurbish its "fraternal ties of collaboration with the Soviet Union," he met with stony silence from the party leaders seated behind him on the stage. Later the 1,192 delegates overwhelmingly approved a pro-NATO resolution, supported by Berlinguer, that asserted the "necessity for Italy to remain in the Atlantic alliance" so long as it operates "for defensive ends." The resolution was part of an all-out effort to forge new links between the Communists, other left-wing parties and even businessmen under a banner of "democratic unity." As a delegate from Bologna put it: "The Marxist class struggle is passé. What we have now is a struggle of many classes who have a common interest in

opposing monopoly capitalism."

Despite their optimism, some Christian Democrats believe that Italy can only achieve long-term stability by "taming" the Communists and including them in the country's governing club. One idea for accomplishing that is said to be favored by Andreotti and other Christian Democratic leaders: portfolios would be given to independent candidates who have been elected on the Communist ticket. "That would not mean that we are going further left," argues an Andreotti adviser. "It would mean that we are pulling the Communists toward the center." Whether Berlinguer and his colleagues would be satisfied by such a move is unknown. Whether such a move is necessary will be unclear until after the voting in June.

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CANADA

## Tight Corner for Trudeau

*The Prime Minister fights for his political life*

In the wary phrase of a political rival, Pierre Elliott Trudeau embodies the attributes of "a philosopher and John Wayne." That dynamic combination has helped Canada's Prime Minister fight his way out of tight corners before, and after eleven years in power. Trudeau has held office longer than any other Western head of government. Last week he was embroiled in the toughest fight of his career as Canada embarked on a federal election campaign that Trudeau described as "the most vital in my lifetime." On May 22, Canadians will decide whether to give Trudeau, 59, a fourth mandate, or turn the country over to an ordinary Joe—Progressive Conservative Leader Joseph Clark. 39.

The election marks the first time since Canadians were caught up in the tides of Trudeauism a decade ago that the Liberals have entered a race running behind. Along with his eloquence and intellect, Trudeau is carrying into the campaign the weight of considerable baggage—notably an economic record that has managed to combine sluggish growth with 9.2% inflation, an unemployment rate of 7.9% and a \$12 billion government deficit.

Trudeau also entered the campaign bearing up under an unusual cross for a Canadian Prime Minister: competing for newspaper space with serialized tattle-tale excerpts from *Beyond Reason*, the memoirs of his estranged wife Margaret, 30. As he has since their separation in 1977, Trudeau maintained a dignified silence about Margaret, whose revelations about their life together are unlikely to affect the election either way.

What may influence the voters' judgment is Tory criticism that the Trudeau years failed to resolve the alienation of the newly resource-rich Western Canadian provinces, which feel that their growing economic clout is not matched by commensurate political influence in the central government. The Westerners served for decades as a captive market for high-priced manufactured goods from Eastern Canada. Now that they have come into their own, oil-producing Alberta and Saskatchewan are resentful that the Trudeau government has claimed a slice of their petroleum revenues to subsidize the price of imported oil, on which most of Eastern Canada depends.

In Trudeau's home province of Quebec, the government of Premier René Lévesque is determined to end the minority status of French-speaking Quebecers in predominantly English-speaking Canada by achieving independence for the province. As a first step, the Lévesque government is preparing to call a plebiscite as early as next fall, asking for a mandate to negotiate a vaguely de-

fined formula of political sovereignty for Quebec and an economic association with the rest of Canada. A few years ago, Trudeau declared that "separatism is dead." Now he is trying to rouse attention to the threat of separatism by pointing to the determination of Lévesque's *Parti Québécois* as "a stark, cold reality." Since Trudeau could hardly assert that his stewardship has brought Canadians prosperity and tranquility, he chose to launch a broadside offensive. He portrayed the country as imperiled by "a growing spirit of egotism and selfishness" and declared in Montreal: "It's impossible to have a united Canada without a strong central government." Dismissing Clark as a "feeble echo" of provincial Premiers who are hungry to expand their powers at Ottawa's expense, Trudeau cast himself as the champion of a government strong enough to defend the national interest from the provinces or anywhere else. Said he, by way of illustration: "The energy needs of Canadians are too vital a matter to be left in the hands of the Exxon Corp of New York or the provincial government of Alberta."

The Liberals consider national unity to be Trudeau's strongest play but at least in the early going, he had difficulty using it. When told on a Toronto hot-line radio show that the voters were more worried about inflation and unemployment, the Prime Minister unguardedly blurted out that he found it "almost treasonable."



Clark with luggage at Ottawa airport  
Finding his stride after a nervous start.



Trudeau at bat in Toronto

for anyone to suggest that national unity was not an important issue.

"At the risk of being called a traitor," as Joe Clark tartly put it on a swing to Quebec City, the youthful Tory leader concentrated on the Trudeau economic record and pledged a passel of policies to Get Canada Working Again. The son of a newspaper publisher in High River, Alta., Clark has proved himself an adept parliamentary leader in his three years as Conservative chief. Many Canadians, however, worry about his relative inexperience, particularly in foreign affairs. After a somewhat nervous start on the hustings, Clark found his stride, advancing himself as a consensus seeker as opposed to "Mr. Trudeau's campaign of uniting Canada by attacking everyone in it."

With six weeks of campaigning to go for 282 seats in the next, enlarged House of Commons, a new Gallup poll had the Liberals and the Tories running in a dead heat, each with 41% of the popular favor. Since the Liberals' support is disproportionately concentrated in Quebec, this suggested that the Tories would enjoy a thin overall margin in the race for parliamentary seats, although an unusually high percentage of voters remain undecided. Just as the Liberals are expected to sweep Quebec, the Tories are overwhelmingly dominant in the Western provinces. Thus the election will probably be won or lost in the industrial heartland of Ontario, which has a third of Canada's population. With the two major parties running so evenly, the leftist New Democratic Party, which has a strong Ontario base, could end up holding the balance of power in the new Parliament.

\*At dissolution, the party standings were: Liberals 133, Conservatives 96, New Democrats 17, Social Credit 8, Independents 5, two vacancies.

## Economy & Business

# "Use Less, Pay More"

*Carter's new energy plan: scrap controls, raise prices and production*

*"This is a painful step, and I'll give it to you straight. Each one of us will have to use less oil and pay more for it."*

**S**traight it was. When he announced his first energy policy, way back in 1977, Jimmy Carter summoned the nation to a "moral equivalent of war," which was to be fought through a highly complex program of tax incentives and other gimmicks, and focused on conservation as the key to solving the nation's twin problems of declining oil production and rising dependence on price-gouging foreign suppliers. The new plan that he outlined in his plain-spoken, 23-minute Oval Office address last week was far simpler—and much more likely to be effective. Henceforth, old-fashioned marketplace economics is to be the basic engine to spur not only fuel saving but also a much needed, intensified search for new domestic supplies. But as Carter promised, the change will be painful: during the coming months and years, U.S. oil prices will leap up, forcing consumers to dig even deeper into their pockets to pay



The President in the Oval Office last week

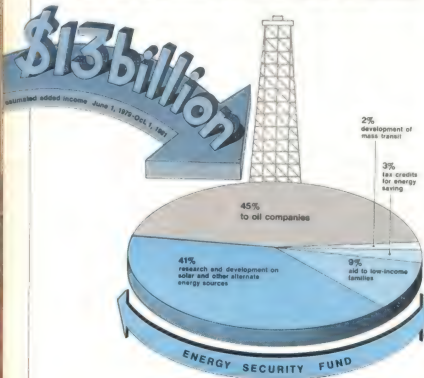
for gasoline and heating oil and giving an upward kick to the country's already hurtful inflation.

The new policy also promises much political pain and peril for Carter. The essence of his program is to strip away the controls that have held the cost of domestically produced crude oil at artificially low levels ever since the post-embargo days of 1974. Next month, using Executive authority, he will order a gradual phase-out of the controls so that they will be entirely eliminated by Oct. 1, 1981, when by law they would have expired anyway.

To prevent handing what he sees as an unearned bonanza to the oil companies, Carter called on Congress to enact a "windfall profits tax." It would skim off about half the \$13 billion or so of extra revenue that oil firms stand to get as the price of domestic crude oil, which now averages \$9.45 per bbl., rises to the world level. At the moment, that figure is \$14.55 for OPEC oil, but Ecuador is now charging a premium price of \$20.60 per bbl., and other producers are also levying surcharges on the basic OPEC price. Under Carter's plan, the proceeds of the oil tax would be funneled into an Energy Security Fund that would bankroll the development of alternative energy sources such as solar power and coal gasification, help low-income families pay for the rising cost of fuel and stimulate the development of energy-efficient mass transit systems such as rail and bus service.

**T**hough White House officials had for weeks been promising a forceful message on energy by the President, the timetable kept slipping as he struggled to get the Egyptian-Israeli peace pact nailed down. Yet when the speech finally came, it more than lived up to the advance billing. In blunt terms the President sought to dispel the notion, reflected in polls, that most Americans feel the oil problem is somehow phony. "The energy crisis is real," he emphasized. The nation's dependence on foreign oil, which now supplies nearly 50% of the U.S.'s needs, up from 36% in 1973, has left the country gravely vulnerable. As the President said, "Our national strength is dangerously dependent on a thin line of oil tankers stretching halfway around the earth, originating in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf—one of the most unstable regions in the world."

In his message, Carter announced a cluster of measures—some substantial,



others symbolic—to help deal with the energy situation. Among them:

► **Parking restrictions.** To discourage the use of cars for commuting to and from work, Carter said that he would eliminate free parking privileges for federal employees nationwide. He urged private corporations to do the same.

► **State allocations.** As a further move to curb gasoline demand, which is rising almost three times as rapidly as oil consumption as a whole, Carter announced a plan to bring state governments into the conservation act. He said that he would soon set strict gasoline reduction timetables for all 50 states, and that if they were not met he would ask for mandatory weekend closings of service stations.

► **Voluntary driving cuts.** The President asked each of the nation's 138 million licensed motorists to drive 15 miles a week less than they do now. The fuel savings could total 413,000 bbl. of oil every day. That is nearly half the amount of oil consumption that the U.S. pledged to cut during 1979 as part of a coordinated conservation drive by the 19 member-nations of the International Energy Agency.

► **Red-tape reductions.** To make it easier for important new energy projects such as refineries and pipelines to come on-stream without years of delays, regulatory hearings and appeals, Carter signed an Executive order setting strict deadlines for processing applications. He also said that the Administration would take action to slice through the bureaucratic barriers that have bogged down plans by Standard Oil of Ohio for a pipeline to carry Alaskan oil from California to Texas. The pipeline would enable some 350,000 bbl. per day of Alaskan oil to reach Eastern markets, thereby displacing the need for an equal amount of imports.

Yet the key to Carter's program is crude-oil decontrol. From the moment that President Nixon set up controls in December 1973 to prevent the price of U.S. oil from chasing OPEC crude into orbit, the whole cumbersome apparatus has provoked one wrangle after another between the oil industry, Congress and the White House. Just as Carter is now doing, Nixon and Gerald Ford also tried to dismantle price controls on domestic oil and tax away the resulting profits. All that those Presidents accomplished was to get themselves caught in crossfire quarrels between oil industry demands for immediate and full decontrol and equally insistent counterarguments from consumer groups and the industry's many critics on Capitol Hill.

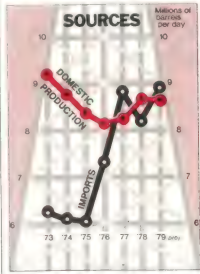
Under Carter, the struggle over price controls has already produced some bitter contention, and that is now certain to intensify. In fact, the single most surprising aspect of Carter's entire message was its harsh indictment of the oil industry. More than just populist politics with a dash of down-home demagoguery, the President's assault was a bold—perhaps even slightly desperate—gamble to outflank industry lobbying efforts in Congress and rally public opinion behind the profits tax.



Carter's aides openly concede that this is White House strategy. Says one presidential assistant: "We're on the side of the angels this time, for once."

Carter all but accused oilmen of energy treason in the name of profit, and he appealed to the nation to deluge Congress with demands that it pass his tax if for no other reason than to stop the oil firms from benefiting from the public's energy problems. Said the President: "Just as surely as the sun will rise, the oil companies can be expected to fight to keep the profits that they have not earned. Unless you speak out, they will have more influence on Congress than you do."

Carter also sought to put Congress on the spot, saying, "Please let your Senators and Representatives know that you support the windfall profits tax, and that you do not want the need to produce more energy to be turned into an excuse to cheat the public and damage our nation. Every vote in Congress for this fund will be a vote for America's future, and every vote



against it will be a vote for excessive oil company profits and for reliance on the whims of the foreign oil cartel."

Though oilmen applauded decontrol, none welcomed the abuse they were getting from the President. Complained a Mobil vice president: "I have no idea why the President thinks it is in the interests of the U.S. to pit citizens against citizens. The way he was talking he seemed to think oil companies were a foreign country." Added T. Boone Pickens Jr., president of Mesa Petroleum, a big Texas-based exploration and drilling firm: "Why these frontal attacks on the industry? Never once does he say what a fine job we've done in finding 90% of the oil and gas that there is in the world. Instead, he almost infers dishonesty." One of the cooler judgments came from Thornton F. Bradshaw, president of Atlantic Richfield. Said he: "I'm not altogether sure that this kind of tax is necessary, but if Congress thinks so, then that's what will happen. If it is politically essential to accomplish decontrol, so be it."

In Congress, opinion about Carter's plan was sharply divided—and by no means along party lines. Many Republicans, especially those from oil states, cheered the decontrol decision. But some influential Democrats were agast. Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy found Carter's program to be "seriously flawed," as did Senate Energy Committee Chairman Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson. But precisely because decontrol is such a touchy issue, many legislators may find it difficult not to vote for at least some form of an excess profits levy. House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill, whose Massachusetts constituents are suffering from surging home-heating-oil bills, conceded that if an effective tax was enacted, he could "live with the President's pricing decision."

Much will depend on what sort of treatment Carter's proposal gets in two congressional committees that must shape the windfall oil tax act—Louisiana Democrat Russell Long's Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee, which originates all tax measures in Congress. Long, who is sometimes chided by oil industry critics as the Senator from OPEC for his strong support of legislation favorable to the industry, in 1977 urged passage of an "energy development fund" that bore close similarities to Carter's security fund proposal. So far, Long has not said whether he will support the oil tax, but considering his 1977 proposal, he may find it difficult to oppose.

The Ways and Means Committee, which is chaired by Oregon Democrat Al Ullman, is deeply split on the tax. Most Republicans argue that Carter's proposed tax rate is too steep, while committee Democrats such as Massachusetts' James Shannon say it is too low. Much back-room bargaining will have to go on before a majority sentiment emerges.

Carter has also called on Congress to

## Economy & Business

revoke one of the oil industry's most zealously protected overseas business perks: the foreign tax credit. Such credits are earned when U.S. companies pay income taxes to foreign governments. To prevent double taxation, U.S. law permits the payments to be used to reduce, on a dollar for dollar basis, the amount of income tax that a company must pay to the IRS.

Big companies have reaped large benefits by structuring their payments to foreign oil nations to enable levies that would normally be considered royalty payments for the purchase of crude to qualify as income taxes. More than 75% of all foreign tax credits claimed by U.S. companies now go to oil and gas firms. Last year the companies saved an estimated \$1.2 billion or more on taxes that they would otherwise have had to pay to the IRS.

Whatever the fate of the tax, decontrol alone will still bring benefits. Not only will rising prices, which are expected by the Administration to push up the cost of gasoline by 5¢ to 7¢ per gal. by 1982, encourage people to waste less fuel, but increased revenues to oil companies will certainly give the industry the financing needed to boost drilling activity.

There are, of course, uncertainties and

risks. Though economists are willing enough to guess, none can say with confidence what the ultimate inflationary impact of decontrol will be. Nor is it entirely clear just how much decontrol will increase domestic oil production. By Administration reckoning, the gradual phase-out of controls should encourage companies to pump more and more oil from their wells until, by 1982, production reaches an additional 700,000 to 800,000 bbl. daily (the U.S. now uses about 19 million bbl. per day). That would displace an equivalent amount of imported oil, but energy demand throughout the economy would itself be growing. In effect, increased production from existing wells would do little more than keep pace with rising imports.

**T**o displace significant amounts of imports, huge new oilfields will have to be discovered and developed. Unfortunately, the oil may just not be there to find. Even though oil companies drilled more than 48,000 new wells around the nation last year, nearly double the amount of 1973, production continues to decline gently but steadily. A new crash program of drill-

ing could turn out to be a multibillion dollar disappointment.

For all that, decontrol remains the most effective energy policy step that the President is able to take. By allowing domestic crude prices to rise to world levels, Carter has sent a clear signal to the nation's trading partners and allies that the U.S. is at long last beginning to face up to the difficult decisions forced upon it by the energy squeeze. The President's speech was widely praised in other oil-consuming countries, and the mere anticipation of what he was going to say sent the dollar soaring in Japan, gold slumping in Europe and stock prices on Wall Street leaping to their best levels in six months.

Favorable congressional action on the windfall profits tax would strengthen Carter's new policy. As he said, "There is no single answer. We must produce more. We must conserve more. And we must join together in a great national effort to use American technology to give us energy security in the years ahead." Decontrol is a necessary first step to the creation of an effective energy policy, and the other steps proposed by the President can bring substantial additional progress. ■

### Those "Large" Oil Profits

**W**hatever the merits of the President's windfall tax proposal, his jabs at the "already large profits" of the petroleum industry were designed to appeal to the public's deep suspicions that oil earnings are particularly bloated. The grumbling is sure to increase over the next few weeks as the companies begin announcing their first-quarter earnings. They will probably show increases on the order of 20% to 40% or more over the first quarter of 1978. Reason: oil inventories acquired months ago are becoming more valuable as OPEC continues to push up prices.

The numbers on oil industry balance sheets are always bogglingly big. In 1978, according to Data Resources Inc., the research firm headed by Democratic Economist Otto Eckstein, the revenues of U.S. domestic and international oil firms totaled a staggering \$346 billion; the after-tax profits totaled \$15.6 billion, which was more than three times the earnings of all U.S. auto manufacturers. Still, by any yardstick, oil company profits are not out of line with those in other U.S. industries.

► In terms of profits as a percentage of revenues, the oil firms' average margin was 4.5% in 1978, according to Data Resources. While this was somewhat fatter than the automakers' margin (3.97%), it was below the average for U.S. industry (5.25%) and far under some truly high-profit businesses, such as soft drink companies (7.8%), cosmetics makers (8.11%) and drug firms (10.1%).

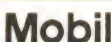
► In terms of return on invested capital, the oil firms have been slightly below the par for U.S. industry. In 1978, according to a Chase Manhattan Bank study of 27 oil companies, they had an average return of 13.2%, compared with nearly 15% for all firms.

► In terms of earnings growth, oil companies have fared marginally better than industry as a whole. From 1977 to 1978, according to Data Resources, the earnings of all U.S. companies expanded by 15.9%, while those of domestic oil firms rose by 16.4%. For the international oil firms, however, the growth was much less, about 1%, as a result of the dollar's decline and price controls in foreign markets.

In his speech, the President chided the oil companies for spending too much of their profits on buying "department stores and hotels" and in other non-energy investments. Actually, the amount of such spending is not large: of the \$29.4 billion invested in all areas in 1978 by the 27 firms in the Chase study, about \$2.8 billion, or some 10%, was spent on non-energy projects. The remainder, or nearly \$27 billion, was plowed back into the energy business. About

63% of those funds, or some \$17 billion, was devoted to oil exploration and the development of new wells: a bit more than half of that \$17 billion was invested in the U.S.

In any given year, the expenditures by the big oil companies in search of increased energy supplies may match or exceed profits. For example, the amount that Mobil spent last year to look for and develop new sources of gas and oil, \$1.1 billion, was exactly equal to its after-tax earnings. The \$3.5 billion that Exxon spent on developing new energy sources was well above its after-tax profits, which came to \$2.7 billion. Of that sum, Exxon paid out about 55% in dividends to its 695,000 stockholders. They include not only a great number of small investors (no single stockholder owns more than 0.1% of the shares), but also pension funds, banks, universities and other institutions. In effect, these institutions manage the money of millions of ordinary wage earners—the very people, in fact, whom Carter now urges to rise up and keep the oil firms from having an excuse "to cheat the public and to damage the nation."







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## Ripping Apart the Guidelines

*After five months, the wage-price standards are in deep trouble*

The Carter Administration's wage-price guidelines were beset by a tide of woe last week. While the nation's long-haul trucking slowed drastically, representatives of the industry and the striking Teamsters remained unable to agree on a new contract that came near to meeting the Government's "voluntary" limit of 7% in annual wage and benefit increases. At the same time, a walkout by United Airlines machinists, who are also seeking a guideline-busting settlement, grounded all flights of the U.S.'s largest air carrier and forced the layoff of more than 13,000 pilots, attendants and other crew members.

Meanwhile, another shocker on prices provided further evidence that after just five months, the President's Stage II anti-

inflation guideline level of 22.5%, the Council on Wage and Price Stability (COWPS) seemed ready to exclude some benefit gains and pronounce an even 30% settlement to be within the standards.

A main sticking point is the cost of living clause. The industry has offered the drivers a boost equal to 65% of the rise in the Consumer Price Index, to be paid on an annual basis. The final payment would not be made until the fourth year and would not be counted in the three-year package. The union insists on getting the increase twice a year, with the next-to-final payment falling due in the third year. That would lift the overall settlement two percentage points above what the Government is willing to accept.

After the deadline passed, the Team-

sters. General Motors was forced to cut production and lay off 30,100 hourly workers indefinitely. Ford reduced shifts at 19 of its North American plants. Chrysler closed almost its entire U.S. operation, laying off 77,000 employees in 37 plants.

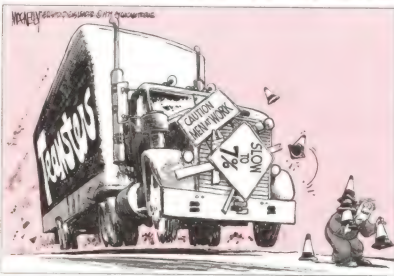
Meanwhile, the machinists' strike prompted other airlines to put on extra flights to accommodate some of the 130,000 passengers carried daily by United. The machinists' pact is supposed to be exempt from the guidelines if it stays within the bounds of the contract that the machinists signed with TWA before the guidelines were announced, which provided an average 12% annual increase in wages and benefits over three years. Citing the ravages of inflation, the machinists at United have twice rejected a package similar to the one granted by TWA. The 18,600 machinists walked out March 31. Negotiations resumed briefly last week and then were called off again.

Government efforts to keep a lid on prices are also failing. Many businessmen feel that some form of mandatory wage-price controls is inevitable, despite repeated protestations by the President, his chief inflation fighter Alfred Kahn and other Administration officials that no such move is contemplated. Thus corporations are pushing up prices earlier and higher than they ordinarily would as a hedge against being caught by controls "with their prices down." As a result, says COWPS Director Barry Bosworth, the Administration is tightening up on its price standards, which are becoming less and less voluntary.

For example, COWPS will now require all companies with annual sales of more than \$250 million, including those that produce prescription drugs, cement, and electric motors, to file quarterly reports on price actions, including any price changes being considered for the future. Bosworth frankly admits that there has been plenty of mismanagement of the price standards. Yet he insists: "The answer is not to abandon the program. We've lost a lot of time, but we've got to get a better flow of information."

The best hope for the guidelines is that the economy will begin to slow from its unexpectedly extended boom, and there are signs that this is happening. After inflation, real personal income has declined at an annual rate of 6.3% so far this year. Retail sales, U.S.-made-auto sales and housing starts have also slowed.

All this could presage the mild recession that is widely expected later this year. If the guidelines fail before the decline in production begins, the only practical, short-term alternative would be an ever tougher monetary policy and higher interest rates. Money supply is already relatively tight, and interest rates are expected to go on rising into June. A continuation of this trend could lead to a recession deeper and more painful than anyone wants.



inflation effort is flagging. In March wholesale prices zoomed 1%, or at a compounded annual rate of 12.7%, the same as in February. Leading the price index was food, which jumped 1.2%, with particularly severe rises in beef and veal. So far this year, beef prices have increased at an annual rate of more than 100% and are expected to remain oppressively high for the rest of the year. The standard Administration forecast calls for inflation to moderate, but not before several months more of big price rises.

Any Teamsters settlement is all but certain to break the wage standard despite vigorous efforts by the Administration to force restraint. Last week bargaining resumed briefly only to be broken off again. When the talks first collapsed, April 1, the drivers were demanding an increase of 32% over three years. Though that would be well above the compounded

costs called selective strikes against 73 of the 500 companies involved in the negotiations. This was a union effort to flex some muscle but avoid provoking the White House into imposing the 80-day cooling-off period under the Taft-Hartley Act. To invoke the law, which would require the drivers to return to work, the President must show that a strike will endanger the nation's health or safety. The partial walkout also would have enabled the union to push for divide-and-conquer settlements with individual firms. To foil that move, trucking industry leaders called for and got a largely successful nationwide lockout of the Teamsters by the companies in the negotiations.

The effects of the strike and lockout quickly dented the operations of a wide variety of manufacturing industries. Worst off were the automakers, who stock only a few days' supply of some compo-

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## Economy & Business



A300s in France bearing the colors of several airlines

### Flying High with Airbus

*Some big orders give the European wide-body a boost*

American commercial planemakers have long dominated the world skies, but their near monopoly is under assault. Last week The Netherlands' KLM and West Germany's Lufthansa, which up to now have operated predominantly U.S.-made fleets, both announced important buys of wide-bodied, twin-engined planes built by Airbus Industrie, a consortium backed by four European governments.

KLM's order, for ten short-range A310s (with options for ten more), is the largest it has ever made. Lufthansa's purchase of 25 of the planes (and options for an additional 25) is the biggest order the decade-old consortium has landed. Equally significant, the sale marks the end of Lufthansa's overwhelming dependence on Boeing. Said Lufthansa chairman Herbert Culmann: "We have no interest in turning a giant into a colossus."

While the Airbus consortium itself is not yet a giant, it is quickly becoming an important source of jobs as well as pride in Europe. Production at the final assembly plant in Toulouse, France, is scheduled to increase from 2.3 planes a month to six by 1982. The consortium's payroll will rise from 17,000 to 40,000 in the four participating countries, which divvy up the manufacturing in rough proportion to their Airbus ownership—37.9% for Britain and West Germany, 20% for both France and West Germany, 20% for Britain, and 4.2% for Spain. The four have invested some \$3 billion in the project.

Airbus sales did not begin to take off until last year, when Eastern Air Lines bought 23 of the \$33 million A300s. Since then the backlog of Airbus orders has doubled, to \$6.3 billion; today the firm accounts for one out of three sales of new wide-bodied planes. Indeed, since last year, it has sold almost as many wide-bodieds as Boeing and more than McDonnell Douglas and Lockheed. These two companies have run out of steam because neither has launched a new model for the short- to medium-haul market. Says the consortium's French president, Bernard Lathière: "Three years ago there were

three major companies in the [jumbo] market—Boeing, McDonnell Douglas and Lockheed. Today there are two—Boeing and Airbus."

Only 65 Airbuses are in service, but the consortium has 177 firm orders and 93 options from 21 airlines. It also has strong prospects for further buys from carriers that are not now customers, including Air Afrique, Britain's Laker Airways and Japan's domestic TOA. Lathière insists that present customers alone assure the consortium of the 360 sales it needs to break even on the A300, the 251- to 336-seat prime Airbus model.

The A310, which carries 200 to 255 passengers, is a later model that will compete with Boeing's twin-engined 767, which will be used on short-haul routes in the early '80s. The first A310s are due to begin flying in 1983 by Swissair, which last month signed an order for ten planes. That was a key deal because Swissair has depended heavily on U.S. planes in the past, and Switzerland is not a member of the Airbus group or of the Common Market, and thus was under no visible pressure to buy European.

Popular with passengers and highly reliable, the A300s are also the most fuel-efficient commercial jets now flying, a result of their advanced engines and a "supercritical" wing that cuts aerodynamic drag. Airbus has also benefited from a fundamental change in world aircraft-sales patterns. U.S. airlines, which not long ago accounted for two-thirds of all airliner purchases, now make up only one-half of the market. European and Third World lines are growing fast, and they seem more inclined to fly non-American jets than U.S. carriers do. The Airbus consortium aims to sell at least 25% of the 3,000 or so short- and medium-haul jets that will be needed by the early 1990s.

Lathière hopes the Airbus will redress an imbalance that has long irritated Europeans. Says he: "Europe buys 25% of the world's planes, but as manufacturers we get only 2% of the business. The U.S.

plane industry will not suffer if its share of the world sales declines somewhat to 75%." Despite the burst of business for Airbus, Boeing has received 229 orders and options for the 767 and the 757. Moreover, before it made its Airbus buy, Lufthansa placed a \$1.2 billion order for 32 Boeing 737s and 24 options, the largest plane deal ever made by a European carrier. Since Airbuses are fitted with U.S.-made engines and electronic gadgetry, one out of every three dollars spent on the European planes ends up in America. ■

### Duty Dodgers

*Games little pickups play*

It looks like a typical small pickup truck, but Japan's Subaru insists that the BRAT DL, a four-wheel-drive vehicle with an open cargo bed that it sells in the U.S. for \$5,288, is really a "bi-drive recreational all-terrain transporter." The difference is important, at least to the manufacturer and U.S. Customs. By placing two seats in the BRAT's cargo area, Subaru is able to import the machine as a car, on which the tariff is only 3%, rather than as a truck, on which the import tax is a far heavier 25%. Last year Subaru imported 22,945 of the BRATs.

Subaru is scarcely alone in using this loophole: not one of the 335,000 pickups imported last year was taxed at the full truck rate. The 25% levy, introduced by Congress in 1963 in retaliation for a European tax on American chickens, was originally designed to hit imports of the Volkswagen Transporter, which is no longer produced. Successive administrations have let the tariff go unenforced, and this is not likely to change, despite a General Accounting Office estimate that about \$600 million in truck import taxes have been lost since 1971. Reason: U.S. automakers are playing the customs game alongside the Japanese.

Toyota and Datsun, which together brought in nearly 190,000 pickups last year, lead the duty dodgers. But Detroit's Big Three also find it cheaper to manufacture their smaller pickups in Japan and import them. Last year these "captive" imports included 70,557 Ford Couriers, 67,035 Chevy Luvvs for GM and more than



Subaru BRAT with seats in cargo bed

*That clever 3% solution.*



## Economy & Business

3,000 Dodge D50s and Plymouth Arrows for Chrysler.

The most popular method of avoiding the 25% duty is to import trucks in two parts, in which case only a 4% tariff applies. After clearing customs, the chassis (including the cab) is joined to the cargo bed, a process that a Datsun spokesman concedes "can be performed in a matter of minutes." Toyota has a different strategy: it builds the cargo beds in California and imports the cabs and chassis. The most ingenious ploy is GM's Chevy Luv's sent from Japan to Tacoma, Wash., with the chassis and bed loosely attached. The two parts are separated in a warehouse and, after being moved through customs on different days, rejoined. Darned crafty, those Detroiters. ■

## Help for Savers

*Small depositors get more*

**W**hen it comes to saving money, affluent people get a break. Those who put \$10,000 or more into six-month money market certificates can collect interest at roughly 9.5%, while small savers are limited by law to earning only 5% from commercial banks and 5.25% from savings institutions on their passbook accounts. Last week federal banking authorities proposed new measures to redress this imbalance and encourage saving.

One of the new proposals will be an eight-year "rising rate" certificate of deposit in amounts as low as \$500. The interest will start at 6% (6.25% in savings banks) and rise gradually to 8% (8.25%) over five years; a saver who leaves \$500 on deposit over the full eight years will get \$386.17 in interest, vs. \$244.06 in a regular 5% bank account. Savers will also be able to buy a five-year certificate pegged to the average five-year Treasury Note rate, currently 9.2%; interest on the new certificate will be 1.25% less than that rate, or 1% less if bought at a savings bank. In addition, the \$1,000 minimum for certain high-interest certificates of deposit will be cut in half or, in some cases, dropped altogether. Finally, regular savings accounts will pay an extra half percent bonus on the minimum balance held over twelve months.

The Gray Panthers, a group of aged activists, have been lobbying long and hard for higher interest for small savers, and have publicized their campaign through buttons and bumper stickers bearing their wry slogan: "Savings may be hazardous to your wealth."

They have a point. Just to keep even with double-digit erosion, the head of a family of four who earns taxable income of \$20,000 would have to be paid interest of 11.25% on his passbook savings, or more than twice the current rate. ■

## Executive View/Marshall Loeb

## Meeting Activists Halfway

**J**ohn Diebold spreads a week's worth of *Wall Street Journals* on the thick blue carpet of his Park Avenue office and jabs a forefinger at story after story. The headlines tell the real news about business today. They speak of all the new ethics rules, the multiplying Government regulations, tire recalls, affirmative action programs and the demands of environmentalists, feminists, unionists, minorities, politicians, employees, shareholders. Diebold makes his point: the rising demands of society are forcing businesses to respond and change.

Diebold has earned a fortune promoting corporate change. Having coined the word automation while he was writing his M.B.A. thesis at Harvard, he set up a consulting firm when still in his 20s. He advised businesses how to deal with computers, opened offices of the Diebold Group around the world, wrote four books and was decorated with numerous honorary degrees and princely medals. Now, still boyish looking and wide-eyed at 52, he has signed up 22 blue chips that pay his company fat fees to learn how to cope with change in society.

His customers include the likes of A T & T, IBM, GE, INA, Alcoa, Mead, Singer, Monsanto, Borg-Warner. Eight times a year their top powers—chairmen, presidents or vice presidents—get together for a day in Diebold's offices. In these meetings they exchange information on how their own companies are trying to anticipate and respond to the many minirevolutions in the country. Diebold preaches a message: "Don't wait for the activists to come forward. Go out and meet them at least halfway, and maybe more than that."

At Diebold's sessions corporate chiefs study the successes of other businesses in dealing with public issues and outside pressures. They look at the case of the food companies that set up the Food Safety Council, enlisted the help of a ranking aide to Ralph Nader and now mutually work to agree on a list of food products and additives that everybody could consider safe—before going to the great trouble and expense of putting them on the market. Diebold also has his clients study the National Coal Policy Project. Companies that mine and use coal formed it with environmental leaders, and together they reached productive compromises to speed the digging and burning of coal. Similarly, Diebold's clients ponder the example of Pennsylvania Power & Light and Canada's Ontario Hydro. Before building a power plant, they solicit citizen volunteers to examine a number of sites and pick the one that seems the most desirable—and environmentally safest. Perhaps other corporations would be wise to join with real or potential critics instead of fighting them so hard.

Beyond that, Diebold's group is also examining ways of reshuffling top management to free up high executives to concentrate on public issues, many of which have a tremendous influence on profits. One way may be to separate the roles of chairman and chief executive. The chairman—Mr. Outside—would concentrate on anticipating the demands of society and Government. He (or she) would head a board with fewer corporate officers and more independent directors than is common today. The chief executive—Mr. Inside—would run the company. Already Mead Corp. and Connecticut General Insurance have moved in this direction.

Tomorrow's major challenge for U.S. corporations, says Diebold, will be to meet employee desires for a greater voice in decision making. In Europe some unionists sit on boards, and Diebold observes: "A lot of American businessmen are saying, 'Thank God, it's not going to happen here.' " Indeed American workers do not want to be directors, but, Diebold argues, "their desires to have some participation are just as real here as in Europe. We could get genuine increases in productivity by involving employees in decision making much closer to their levels of work."

With that in mind, Diebold likes to cite a sculpture he once saw of two bronze figures in angry confrontation. Its title: *Impossible*. Diebold is convinced that the prime challenge facing U.S. enterprise is to head off the threat of impossible confrontations between the company and its employees, and between business and society.



Management Strategist Diebold

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# Art

## At the Meeting of the Planes

The Guggenheim Museum's landmark sculpture show

The older modern art gets, the further it slides away, the clearer it becomes that the difference between us and the early moderns was not just one of talent. They were obsessed and inspired, as we no longer are, by the promise of the 20th century and a world made new. Because of the general faith in development, the four decades between 1890 and 1930 make up one of the supreme periods in the cultural history of the West—riven, tragic, dissonant, yet as vigorous as the Italian Renaissance—a rewriting of the contract between man and his symbols.

One of the areas in which this happened was sculpture. It was perhaps the last time that a sculptor could imagine, in good faith, that he was history's megaphone. The social power of art was still unquestioned, and to change the language of sculpture was, at least potentially, an act of real cultural and moral significance. In those 40 years, the language of sculpture underwent the most searching revision it had had, perhaps in its whole history, and certainly since the time of Bernini and his followers in the 17th century. It moved, to put it roughly, from the lump to the web, from closed mass to open, constructed form. What happened to it then is set forth in a beautifully chosen, concise exhibition called "The Plan-

nar Dimension: Europe, 1912-1932," organized by Curator Margit Rowell, which opened last month at New York's Guggenheim Museum.

The change started with cubism and widely affected the European avant-garde. Its results range from the futurist sculpture of Italian artists like Umberto Boccioni and Giacomo Balla to the radical experiments of the Russian constructivists, Tatlin, Rodchenko, Lissitzky, Puni; from Alexander Archipenko's wall reliefs to Julio Gonzalez's iron constructions and Alexander Calder's fluttering mobiles. Artists as unlike as Naum Gabo and David Smith were affected by it. No sculptor interested in either ideal formal systems or new materials was immune to its promises, and its influence persists to this day. Sculpture had been solid since paleolithic man made his fertility dolls, indeed since God made Adam out of clay; it now became a matter of intersecting planes, of wires springing through space, and airy conjunctions of industrial materials—sheet metal, plywood, Celluloid, Bakelite. "Matter is dissolved into pure planes and lines, penetrating each other, devoid of mass and transparent," wrote Author Alexander Dörner in 1931. "Thus instead of a space filled with solid mass... a space appears as the crisscrossing of streams of movements and streams of events." Just as the marble hero radiating authority from a pedestal took its place in a geocentric universe ruled by kings, so the new sculpture seemed appropriate to an idea of the world based on relativity and swift social change.

This conquest of the "planar dimension" has not, up till now, been properly explained by a museum show. Rowell has done the job with tonic intelligence, bringing together 114 sculptures done between 1912 and 1932 by 39 artists: French, Spanish, German, Hungarian, Russian, Italian and American. She has traced sculpture's passage from closed mass to open form with a precision of focus and a variety of little-known works that no earlier effort has matched. This may be the most important show of modernist sculpture in the past ten years.

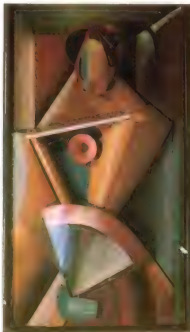
With its two dimensions, painting can only represent space. But sculpture has three. It can absorb space into its own fabric. One of the key moments in this development came in 1912, when Pablo Pi-



Laurens's Dish with Grapes

casso, then 31, snipped and bent some sheet metal into the semblance of a guitar. It was a guitar that might have been lifted from one of his own cubist still lifes, an open object defined by thin planes. The folding of the tin imitated the layered, overlapped look of the paintings: it was cubism made literal. This battered-looking object is Exhibit A in the Guggenheim show. In it, space was for the first time declared to be the prime subject of sculpture, but by means traditional to painting: the flat surface, the boundary line. Since tin sheets do not ask to be stroked, as stone or bronze does, the *Guitar* was wholly visual sculpture, another mark of the new sensibility. If the word revolutionary still means anything in art, this was a revolutionary work. At one stroke it changed the history of its own medium.

It is startling to see how fast and with what authority the *Guitar's* lessons were absorbed by other artists in Paris, such as Henri Laurens and Archipenko. Laurens's *Dish with Grapes* (1916-18), with its majestic rotation of painted wood planes around the calm central core of the stemmed fruit dish, is surely one of the masterpieces of the 20th century, and all the fresher for being little known. Jacques Lipchitz's flat, frontal cubist sculptures, like *Detachable Figure, Seated Musician* (1915), are perhaps less impressive than this: yet they have about them a gaiety and precision of feeling that predicts art deco. Archipenko was a Russian emigre who arrived in Paris to work in 1908. As Rowell shows, he contrived to graft the tradition of the icon—with



Archipenko's *Woman with a Fan*  
A negative breast on the Russian icon?



**Reconstruction of Iwan Puni's Sculpture—Relief with Saw**

*Celebrating labor and real materials amid the tool shortage.*

its deep frame and boxy space, and its applied incrustation in the form of halos, plaques, ex-votos and jewels fixed on the paint surface—to cubist sculpture. A work like *Woman with a Fan* (1914) combines both: it is almost as hieratic as a Russian saint. Yet nothing could have been more modern than the funnel Archipenko inserted into the design, like a negative

breast, a conical hole that goes straight through the canvas at the back, turning painting into sculpture with one gesture.

In Russia, where there was virtually no tradition of sculpture, the planar impulse took two directions. One—as its name, suprematism, indicates—tried to transcend the material world. The painter Kasimir Malevich and his students, like Ilya Chashnik, devised reliefs and models that in their crisscross of small rectangular shapes and larger blocks resemble models for imaginary buildings or cities. They were, in a very rarefied sense, social blueprints, though quite unworkable ones. Perhaps Russia was the only country in which artists could seriously imagine that abstract art might attain the moral compulsion of a holy picture. Chashnik's *Large Suprematist Relief* (1920-26), finished a few years before he died at 27, lays no stress on its materials: it is a pure proposition of the kind of half religious ideal that was soon to be censored out of Russian art by Stalin. On the other hand, the work of Iwan Puni and Vladimir Tatlin was virtually dialectical materialism transferred into art—"real materials," as Tatlin put it, possibly drawing on his own experience as a marine carpenter, "in real space." When Puni stuck a ham-

mer onto one of his reliefs, and a saw onto another, he did so to praise the world of work and its appropriate tools, to give sculpture a new standing as the product of labor rather than the emblem of luxury or abstract power. As a result, his work—or what survives of it after decades of neglect in Russia—has a singular freshness about it: plain, optimistic lingo, a kind of sophisticated visual slang.

Such experiments look recondite in the '70s, and they must have looked quite peripheral when they were done. The audience for them was small compared with that for a radical poet like Vladimir Mayakovsky, and the link that planar sculpture sought between art and technology was often frustrated by shortages of materials and know-how. Still, these works cast a long shadow. The most surprising aspect of the show is the quality of some of the lesser known artists whose work Curator Rowell has ferreted out. One was Katarzyna Kobro, a Russian woman who worked with Malevich and Lissitzky in the years just after the 1917 Revolution, and whose exquisitely organized sculptures of painted sheet steel radiate an uncommon precision of feeling. Alas, nearly all of Kobro's output has vanished, as has that of László Peri, a Hungarian sculptor who died in 1967. His concrete wall plaques, so tersely unbeautiful and confident in their "shaped canvas" eccentricity, remind one how many of the concerns of today's nominally advanced sculpture, which presumably seems novel to those who make it, were threshed over and done better half a century ago. In that respect, the Guggenheim's show is an interesting rebuke to historical myopia. But it is also, quite simply, a visual delight; and if any one exhibition in the U.S. may be seen as a weathercock, signaling the shift of taste away from romanticism and toward the once unpopular rigors of constructivism, this is it.

—Robert Hughes



**Puni's Still Life—Relief with Hammer**



**Chashnik's Suprematist Relief**

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# Environment

## Struggle for Survival

*An adventurous Briton crusades to save endangered tribes*

**A**fter centuries of living in utterly primitive conditions, the Mentawai Indians of Siberut Island off Indonesian Sumatra faced a battery of culture shocks. First they got hold of guns to replace their bows and arrows and began shooting every bird and animal they saw, destroying the very wildlife on which they depended. Then these pagan tribesmen were themselves harassed by Muslim police, who cut their long, plaited hair and took away their beads. Worse yet, Filipinos and Japanese who were imported to work Siberut's newly opened logging concessions began dragging Mentawai girls aboard their boats as easy rape victims.

Enter a plucky upper-class Englishman. In the days before the sun set on the British Empire, his ancestors might have rattled a few sabers and issued an edict in the name of the Queen. But Robin Hanbury-Tenison, 42, re-established order in a subtler way. After studying the troubled tribesmen, he launched a program to teach them fishing and chicken and pig farming. That helped restore their self-sufficiency and, equally important, their self-esteem.

For England's most famous contemporary explorer, the peaceful intervention on Sumatra was almost a workaday mission. As head of an unusual London-based organization called Survival International, Hanbury-Tenison has been aiding endangered tribal peoples for a decade. By his reckoning, what happened to Sumatra's Mentawaians could have befallen almost any of some 3 million people in a dozen countries round the world who pursue simple lives as hunters and gatherers or as nomadic herdsman.

For example, in Australia's Outback, the collision with civilization has turned many aborigines into drunkards. By 10 a.m. the main street of Alice Springs is littered with squatting aborigines waiting for the bars to open, their alcoholism bankrolled by government dole. Only a few years ago, the Cinta Largas tribe in Brazil was bombed and strafed from the air, and the survivors gunned down by hunting parties, all to permit loggers to clear the tribe's lands.

The protection of such people may seem an unlikely crusade for Hanbury-Tenison, a handsome, blue-eyed member of the English landed gentry who bears a resemblance to Actor Peter O'Toole and harbors a love of adventure. In fact, that love was his first. In 1958, after finishing up at Oxford, he and Roommate Richard Mason made an unprecedented westward traverse of South America, crossing some 6,000 miles of mountain and jungle by Jeep.

Three years later, while Mason was

searching for the source of Brazil's Iriti River, he was clubbed to death by Kreen-Akarores Indians, who had learned to fear and hate strangers. As tragic as his friend's death was, it was also something of an awakening for Hanbury-Tenison. He went adventuring again, but soon found it pointless. He bought 600 acres of pasture land and moors in Cornwall, England, but saw little reward in the life of a country squire. Convinced he should help the tribal people he had seen, he joined in 1969 with Francis Huxley (son of the late Sir Julian Huxley), Viscount Boyd of Merton and Lord Butler of Saffron Walden to form Survival International.

As shaped by its founders, Survival is dedicated to finding out what tribal people need and speaking in their behalf. Missions must have the assent of the tribes—and scrupulously avoid disrupting native culture. Explains Hanbury-Tenison: "We would never go to a tribe and say, 'This is how you should solve your problems.'"

First to be helped were Colombia's 400 Andoke Indians in 1974. Employed on a rubber plantation, they had fallen heavily into debt in a sharecropper-type system that required them to buy their tools and provisions. Survival cabled \$1,000 to the tribe, enough to buy it freedom. Then came the more complex Mentawai mission, the digging of water wells for Bushmen in Botswana, and compilation of a dictionary for the Arawak Indians of Guyana. In 1976 Survival heard that the regime of the Paraguayan dictator, General Alfredo Stroessner, was torturing and killing the Aché Indians in a Nazi-style "final solution." Survival helped finance an on-the-spot investigation by Temple University Law Professor Richard Arens, who upon his return edited *Genocide in Paraguay* (Temple University Press, 1976), a bitter testimony to 343 Indian deaths and many hundreds of mysterious disappearances.

So far, Survival International itself has barely survived on shoestring budgets and small public as well as private donations. Now the Ford Foundation is providing a three-year, \$60,000 grant, and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund is pitching in with \$30,000. Saving threatened tribes will still be a hefty challenge, but Hanbury-Tenison is indomitably optimistic. Says he: "We're not really fighting a losing battle if the will is there."



Survival's Hanbury-Tenison with Indonesian tribesman



Xingu River Indians playing ancient flutes in Brazilian national park  
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## Sexes

### Army Husband

*If Mom's a G.I., who baby-sits?*

It was Purple Hearts and flowers from the start. He was in the Air Force; she was in the Army. They fell in love while they were studying broadcasting and journalism, respectively, at the Defense Information School in Indianapolis. And then they carried on a long-distance romance between New Mexico's Holloman Airbase, where he was assigned to a supply unit, and Fort Lee, Va., where she worked as an Army journalist. Personnel officers at both bases assured them that he would have no difficulty transferring to a supply unit in Fort Lee, so Private First Class Richard Venema, then 21, and Sergeant

was planned," says Richard. "The situation after Stephen's birth was not."

The couple's tactical problem. Who would guard the home front, with Momma in the front lines? Obviously Poppa, since in these days of deflated dollars Yanks in Germany can no longer easily afford such amenities as full-time baby sitters. So Richard dutifully quit his job once more. In increasingly liberated America, househusbands are becoming an accepted part of life. But in the macho world of the military, Richard is an unassimilable anomaly: as far as his military neighbors were concerned, he might as well have bartered away Pentagon secrets. Explains Richard: "The husbands won't talk to me, because I do 'womanly' things and they work." And their wives are no more sympathetic, barely acknowl-



Sergeant Elaine Venema and Househusband Richard care for their son Stephen.

*"The husbands won't talk to me because I do 'womanly' things, and they work."*

Elayne Chalifour, then 19, decided to join forces. In 1977 they got married.

Then the military began behaving according to tradition. Richard was told he could not transfer to Fort Lee after all: the supply units were incompatible. He was unable to get a job anywhere near Fort Lee, nor could Elaine transfer to New Mexico. Richard even tried to transfer to the Army—to no avail. Exasperated by months of snafus, Richard resigned from the Air Force and joined Elaine at Fort Lee. There he eventually found a job as a salesman in a department store. No sooner had he done so than the Army transferred her to West Berlin on an "unaccompanied tour," with no accommodation for a spouse. Richard went along anyway; this time he settled for work as a handyman. Soon there was a new complication on the domestic front. "The baby

edging his presence when he does the family wash in the basement laundry of the military apartment complex where the Venemas live. Nor is life any easier at the PX, every time Richard goes there he seems to have to explain to yet another puzzled clerk that his wife is the soldier, he the dependent. Grousing does not help. "Nobody listens to me because nobody has to listen to me."

Difficult as their plight may seem, the Venemas are soldiering on. But they may not do battle much longer. Elaine's tour of duty is up in 1980, and she will re-enlist only if the Army assigns her to a U.S. city, where Richard can pursue his dream of becoming a disc jockey. Meanwhile, he continues to care for their five-month-old son during the day and take business courses at night. Undaunted, the couple is considering a second child.



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**12**  
MG. TAR  
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**13**  
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**13**  
MG. TAR  
0.9 MG. NIC.



**14**  
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**11**  
MG. TAR  
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Source: comparative "tar" and nicotine figures: FTC Report  
May 1978. Of All Brands Sold: Lowest tar: 0.5 mg. "tar,"  
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# Law

## Death Wish Denied

*An execution is stayed, but others may be on the way*

On the day after Christmas 1976, John Louis Evans and a friend he met in prison, Wayne Ritter, rented an Oldsmobile Cutlass and went on a spree. By Evans' count, the pair committed 37 robberies, two extortions and nine kidnappings. When they got to Mobile, Ala., Evans shot a pawnbroker in the back while the victim's two daughters, aged 7 and 9, looked on. It was all a "deadly game," says Evans. "I was planning on dying. I would never go back to prison."

Last week Evans came with-in six hours of getting just what he planned for. Condemned to die, he had finished eating his last supper a few yards away from the electric chair in Holman prison near Atmore, Ala., when a last-minute appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court won him a stay of execution. Evans did not ask for it; his mother did. Evans had told reporters that his death would be the "one constructive, positive act in a blasted life."

Evans first made his death wish known at an unusual televised trial. Accused of murder and robbery, Evans and Ritter both threatened to murder the jurors, too, if they acquitted the pair. A shocked jury took all of 15 minutes to convict. Ritter lost his urge to die during the two years he has spent sitting on death row, and is still appealing his case. But Evans asked only that he be put to death by a lethal injection, so he could donate his organs to medicine (burning them by electrocution, he has said, would be a "waste").

Opponents of the death penalty appealed the death sentence four times, to no avail. Finally, last week, Evans' mother went to the high court. Justice William Rehnquist, a supporter of the constitutionality of the death penalty, somewhat grudgingly put off the execution to give the full court a chance to hear Mrs. Evans' arguments. When her son got the news, he wept and said, "I will have to go through all this again." At the earliest, Evans could go to the chair in mid-May.

Only one man has been executed since 1967: Gary Gilmore, who also asked to die, and was killed by a firing squad in Utah two years ago. But unless the law takes an unexpected turn toward leniency, a decade-long de facto moratorium on the death penalty may come to an end starting this summer. If so, many condemned men who definitely want to live will die.

As recently as 1972, it looked as if the death penalty would soon go the way of the lash and the rack. That year, in *Furman vs. Georgia*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the death penalty was cruel and unusual punishment, as Justice Potter Stewart put it, "in the same way that being struck by lightning is cruel and unusual." It had been applied "wantonly" and "freakishly"—most often against poor blacks. But four years later, the court approved new capital punishment laws



John Louis Evans posing in front of Holman prison's electric chair  
"One constructive, positive act in a blasted life."

designed by individual states to be less arbitrary. Typically, the laws allow juries to hand down a death sentence only after weighing "aggravating circumstances," such as the murder of a police officer or the torture of a victim, and "mitigating circumstances," such as a killer's age or emotional state. Now 35 states have the death penalty, and death row, emptied by *Furman* in 1972, has a population of about 500.

Opponents of the death penalty insist that the new laws still work unfairly. The argument on the effect of race has taken a new twist: killing a white is more likely to bring the death penalty than killing a black. In Alabama, for instance, on the basis of 1,395 murders and 41 death

sentences, it is twelve times more likely. Even though roughly equal numbers of blacks and whites were killed in Georgia, Texas and Florida from 1973 to 1977, 90% of the convicts on death row got there by killing whites, according to a study by Sociologists William Bowers and Glenn Pierce of Northeastern University.

Lawyers for John Spenkelink, a white drifter sentenced to death for murdering another white in a Florida motel room six years ago, tried this argument on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. The court rejected it, and last month the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the case. The *Spenkelink* decision is important. The Fifth Circuit covers the six Southern states (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas) that have 75% of all the prisoners now on death row. It means that Spenkelink has nearly exhausted all possible legal remedy, and scores of inmates in other Southern states are closer to death. There will be no sudden bloodbath, predicts Legal Defense Fund Lawyer John Berger, but unless Florida Governor Robert Graham grants clemency, the state's electric chair will be back in use this summer for the first time since 1964.

The N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund, which has led the fight against capital punishment since the late '60s, now finds itself hard pressed. A big reason why no one has died except Gilmore since 1967 is that L.D.F. lawyers have been racing around the country filing last-minute appeals. But without broad constitutional arguments, lawyers will have to fight each case on the facts of the crime and technicalities of conviction. A network of local defense lawyers, including the Southern Poverty Law Center, which is trying to save Evans, has sprung up to help stave off executions, but L.D.F. Lawyer Joel Berger predicts "within a year there will not be enough doctors in the emergency room."

Whatever the legal merits of the L.D.F.'s stand, there is no doubt that most people in the U.S. want capital punishment. It was not always so: in 1966 a Gallup poll showed more people against the death penalty than for it. But high crime has helped change many minds. By September 1978 a Gallup poll estimated that 62% favored the death penalty, only 27% opposed it. No one has been able to prove conclusively that the death penalty deters murders, but the feeling persists that some crimes are so awful that the criminal deserves to be executed. Whether people will still feel that way once condemned men actually start to die again is open to question.

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## Law

### No Surprises

*A plan to protect privacy*

When the Stanford University Daily went to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1977 to challenge a surprise police raid of its newsroom, the Carter Administration supported the local police. A Justice Department brief argued that the First Amendment did not protect a newspaper from unannounced searches, even if the paper's reporters were not suspected of any wrongdoing. By a 5-to-3 vote, the high court agreed in a decision that outraged editors and publishers.

Last week, a somewhat chastened Administration asked Congress in effect to overturn the Stanford Daily decision. Saying that the ruling "poses dangers to the effective functioning of our free press," President Carter submitted a bill that would impose a virtual ban on police searches and seizures of a reporter's "work product," which means his notes, drafts, tapes and film. The bill would protect not only journalists but scholars and authors—anyone involved in disseminating information to the public. The ban permits two exceptions: police can still make surprise searches for material held by someone who is suspected of having committed a crime and in certain "life-endangering situations," like kidnappings. Otherwise, needed information would have to be sought by subpoena.

What changed the Administration's mind? Said Assistant Attorney General Philip Heymann: "To be frank, we can live without the powers we are giving up; states and localities can live without them also." Heymann also conceded that the Administration does "recognize the legitimacy of the argument of the press" in the wake of the Stanford Daily case.

Carter's "First Amendment Privacy Protection Act" was part of a larger package of bills proposed or promised last week to protect the privacy of individuals. Individuals would be able to see, and copy, reports about their credit and their character that banks, insurance and loan companies regularly share with each other. Carter also urged new privacy safeguards on the more than 4 billion records on individuals (an average of 18 for each U.S. citizen) now held by the Federal Government, and asked Congress to restrict disclosure of the large assortment of information being stored by the new Electronic Funds Transfer systems. Such computer systems enable consumers to do everything from buying groceries to renting cars without even signing a check. But they can also be used to profile an individual's tastes and habits, and even track his whereabouts. Computers contribute to convenience, Carter noted, but they confront us with "threats to privacy undreamed of 200 years ago."

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# Sport

## Plutocrat from Pittsburgh

*Slugger Dave Parker reigns as baseball's best-paid player*

In the time before baseball's free-agent era, the loudest sounds of the off season came from the hot stove league, that long winter of "Remember when..." and "Who was it that...?" Today such gentle ruminations have been all but drowned out by the ringing of cash registers, as players who have learned to measure the value of strong arms and big bats in the open market have begun renegotiating contracts.

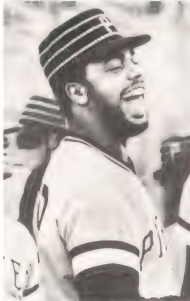
This past winter more than half a dozen athletes joined the list of baseball millionaires. Like a medieval heir apparent,

the best all-round player in baseball. Last year major league general managers voted him the player they would most like to have. Should such judgments seem too subjective for students of statistics, Parker can satisfy them as well: two straight National League batting championships (.338 in 1977 and .334 last season), consecutive Gold Glove Awards as the best rightfielder in the league and, last year, the Most Valuable Player award. Most eloquent testimony of all: Willie Stargell, 37, the Pirates' captain and home run leader, claimed no right to salary seniority à la Yastrzemski when Parker's contract was announced. He came, instead, to the signing ceremony to applaud his teammate. In his 17th major league season, Stargell offered this long view on the young star: "Dave is the best in the game and he deserves to be paid the best. He's the kind of player who only comes along once every 20 or 30 years."

In the city where the late rightfielder Roberto Clemente became a mythic figure, that is quite a tribute. But Parker seems more than equal to the memories of Clemente. Despite his bulk (6 ft. 5 in., 230 lbs.), his speed (100 yds. in 9.6 sec.) ranks him among the fastest in the major leagues, and he can throw screamers to the plate from the fence.

His tremendous physical talent notwithstanding, the graceful outfielder once battled fly balls as if they were his natural enemies. He forged a peace with hours of after-game practice and, with the same single-mindedness, learned to hit line drives. "People talk about the money I'm making, but I paid my dues," Parker says. "You don't get here without sacrifice, without playing ball eleven months a year for \$500 in the minors and winter leagues. I may be a millionaire now, but there was a time when I couldn't pay my electric bill. One week all I had to live on was one package of instant mashed potatoes and five cans of pinto beans."

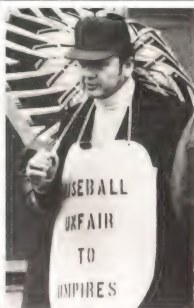
When he finally reached the big leagues in 1973, he quickly served notice that an irresistible force had arrived. Parker kept a detailed book on National League pitchers during his early years and still logs hours of extra practice. Says Pirate Manager Chuck Tanner: "Sure he has the talent, but he's worked as hard as any man I've ever seen play this game to develop his ability. He's getting better every day and he hasn't even hit his prime yet. That's why five years from now, we'll look back on his M.V.P. season last year and say: 'That was just an ordinary Parker year.'"



The happiest millionaire

Pete Rose flashed his Prince Valiant hair-cut before a clutch of contending clubs, finally settling on the Philadelphia Phillies and their reported dowry of \$3.5 million over four years. Former Minnesota Twins Star Rod Carew took his seven batting titles to the California Angels in exchange for some \$4.5 million over five years. Boston Slugger Jim Rice, the American League's M.V.P. last season, agreed to a seven-year deal said to total \$5.4 million and, in the process, earned Carl Yastrzemski an estimated \$1.2 million worth of primogeniture for the remaining two years of his contract.

But the happiest millionaire must have been the Pittsburgh Pirates' Dave Parker. At 27, he owns the biggest contract in baseball (around \$6 million for five years) and, by the admission of his peers, the gifts to go with it. He is, put sim-



Picketing Cincinnati's opener

The men in blue were out.

When the new season got under way last week, the temperature trembled at a subfreezing 31 in Pittsburgh, and Parker was every bit as cold. While umpires picketed outside Three Rivers Stadium and other major league parks in pursuit of a pay raise, baseball's best-paid player struck out twice, had no hits in four at-bats and made a fielding error in a 3-2 Pirate loss. Still, Tanner was not about to eat his words. Parker himself was calmly philosophical. "There's 161 games to go," said he. "I think I can improve my average." You can bet on it.

Off the field, Parker's new status has brought problems. Ten days before the Pirates broke camp in Florida, his suburban home was broken into. He has received death threats laced with racial epithets. Parker is both puzzled and angry over such incidents. "I knew things would be different because of the contract. I expected to be under a magnifying glass. But I never expected this kind of thing. I don't know what will happen, but I do know that I've got to sleep in my home without fear. I've got to know that when I go home my house will be there. The only way I can fight back is by playing as hard as I can. Maybe then, people will appreciate who I am and what I've accomplished."

Pirate Third Baseman Phil Garner, clubhouse Mutt to Parker's Jeff, reflected on his friend's good fortune and the trials that lie ahead: "It isn't going to be easy for Dave. He's a very private person for all his clubhouse clowning, and some of the things that happened have hurt him. But he's still got one very big weapon: he's the best player in the world." ■

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The seed's condition is especially important in the beginning. It takes a pretty robust seed to germinate and survive. That's why we sort the seed in our mixtures. We get out most of the weak immature seeds that won't make it and keep the plump mature seeds that are full of vigor.

We also give you aged seed. Freshly harvested bluegrass seed takes longer to germinate. Nature's way is to age the seed so more of it germinates and comes up at the right time. We're so particular that last year we rejected over five million pounds of grass seed that didn't measure up to all our standards.

The plump, healthy seeds in our Family mixture have food reserves (starches and so on) to help them sprout and grow faster. Seeds buried deeper can fight their way up to sunlight. These vigorous seedlings have more power to

force their way through crusted soil or around clods. They grow into grass plants with a strong will to live. And since they get established quicker, they're better able to fight weedlings later on.

They also have roots that can dig down faster for food and water (your grass is only as good as its roots). So more seedlings survive till they can start producing their own foodstuffs. Then tillers and rhizomes reach out to start new plants and thicken your lawn.

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## Sport

### Power Play

*Colorado lands the Pats' coach*

**W**hat do you do if you hunger year after year for the championship of football's tough Big Eight conference, which includes perennial powerhouses like Oklahoma and Nebraska? For the Flatirons, the University of Colorado's well-heeled booster club, the answer was to call a power play: go after a pro football coach. And not just any coach, but Chuck Fairbanks, 45, who in three seasons had turned the New England Patriots from the bumbler of the N.F.L. into a play-off team.

One trouble about hiring Fairbanks was that he happened to have four years left on his Patriots contract. But that didn't stop the Flatirons—or him. To entice Fairbanks westward, they reportedly offered him a package considerably more attractive than his \$150,000 salary with New England: \$45,000 in base pay, frequent TV appearances and football clinics worth an estimated \$100,000 annually, a \$250,000 paid-up life-insurance policy and a chance to play golf and give "motivational talks" to businessmen at \$3,000 a shot. Fairbanks said fine, but then the Patriots spoiled the going-away party by asking the courts to hold him to his contract.

**T**he legal tug of war had been going on for four months when suddenly last week Fairbanks mysteriously showed up on campus. Eddie Crowder, the university's athletic director, refused to say what was going on. Colorado Governor Richard Lamm was furious. "The public is being treated like mushrooms—kept in the dark and spread with manure," he fumed. Two days later, the university's regents revealed that Colorado had acquired Fairbanks because of an extraordinary out-of-court settlement: the indefatigable Flatirons had agreed to pay \$200,000 to the Patriots in return for dropping the suit.

A number of students and professors (average salary: \$23,100) bitterly resented the bundles of money strewn in Fairbanks' path. The school is currently fighting a budget-saving move by the state legislature that would cut back enrollment, slice several millions from the university budget and lop 202 members from the faculty. Even if the plan is modified, Colorado will face some austerity measures—except in the stadium. Said Jeff Morgan, editor of the *Colorado Daily*, which covers student affairs: "The priorities are way off, but it shows where the interests lie in the state of Colorado."

Meanwhile, the brand-new coach was busy proclaiming a new era on the gridiron. "I don't know how long it will take us to do it, but we will win," said Chuck Fairbanks. He had better. ■

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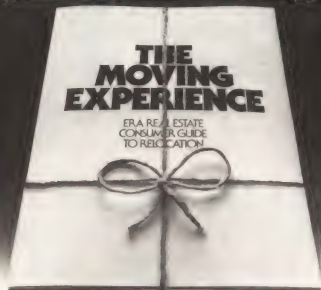
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## Theater

### Touch and Go

THE FAITH HEALER

by Brian Friel

**T**his play is literate, wise, perceptive, humane and wryly humorous, but as drama it needs a blood transfusion. Structure may be the chief culprit. Irish Playwright Brian Friel has divided the play into four *Rashomon*-style monologues. The first and last are spoken by Frank (James Mason), the faith healer, the second by Grace (Clarissa Kaye), his wife, and the third by Teddy (Donal Donnelly). Frank's promotional warmup man.

Confined to the past tense and a prickly brogue, the trio conjure up a vagabond



James Mason in *Faith Healer*


*Necromancer at his craft*

existence of bucketing around Scotland, Wales and Ireland in a van that doubles as home and transport. They fetch up in drafty halls before the blind, the crippled and the mad (unseen), some of whom never wanted to be cured but came to confirm their unyielding despair.

Frank's healing touch is not bogus but erratic. When his "performance," as he calls it, works, he and the healed are joined in a mystic ecstasy of wholeness. At its core the play is not about the characters' lives or Frank's strange powers. Friel uses faith healing as a resonant metaphor of the artist and his gift, the mystery of how the muse inspires, deserts and sometimes destroys its own.

Friel leaves the subject as murky as he found it, but his actors are luminous. Returning to Broadway after 32 years, Mason is a necromancer at his craft. His real-life wife, Clarissa Kaye, seems like a Mother Courage on loan, and Donnelly is a mischievous imp dressed in the motley philosophy of show biz faith healers. **— T.E. Kalem**





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INCORPORATED

# People



Cosell and the Spirit of Justice

In Washington to support legislation for boxing reforms, Sportscaster **Howard Cosell** paused to pontificate on sports shortcomings. The master of multisyllabicism and monotone was particularly exercised by the overriding "syndrome" that winning is everything. This, harrumphed Howard, was all the fault of sportswriters. "Before we ever televised a game, the press did it. Let's put the blame where it belongs." The only thing wrong with telecasters, as far as the New York University Phi Beta Kappa could see, was that ex-jock commentators on networks other than ABC don't talk too good. They "consider it a monumental task to utter

a simple declarative sentence," complained Howard. Was the statue of the Spirit of Justice behind Cosell throwing her arms up to signal unsportsmanlike conduct?

A funny thing happened on her way to the office. Every Chicagoan knew she was going to win. But nobody suspected the size of the majority that tough Democrat **Jane Byrne**, 44, was going to roll up over a weak Republican to become the Second City's first lady. When the votes were counted, Byrne had 82.1% of the vote—the biggest landslide in Chicago history. The political heirs of the late **Richard J. Daley** were impressed. "A gracious woman... a young woman... a girl," stammered Cook County Democratic Leader **George Dume**, searching for a handle. *Sun-Times* Columnist **Mike Royko**, who milked the bestselling *Boss* from Daley's two decades in office, already refers to the gracious woman... young woman... girl as "Mayor Bossy."

She was a photogenic starlet so beautiful she was allowed to play little more than photogenic starlet roles. But **Deborah Raffin**, 26, has a part to sink her psyche into: **Brooke Hayward**, in a four-hour CBS-TV version of *Haywire*, the bestselling daughter-recall of a harrowing, hectoring life with Producer-Father **Leland Hayward** and Actress-Mother **Margaret Sullivan**. **Lee Remick** plays Sullivan. **Jason Robards** is Hayward. Unlike Robards, who knew the man and brings friendship to the role, Raffin has never met Brooke. Still, she feels she knows something about survival because of the schlock she has played in. "I was very hurt by the experience," she says, "and I had to grow a lot. Either that, or not survive."

When Attorney General **Griffin Bell** was cited for contempt last summer and threatened with jail for refusing to release confidential FBI files, Washington Lawyer **Charles Morgan Jr.** teasingly sent his good friend an unusual present. The Attorney General escaped

the jail threat, but he hung the gift on his office door. It was still there when Health, Education and Welfare Secretary **Joseph A. Califano Jr.** faced a contempt threat as a result of a North Carolina civil rights suit. Bell, who would be called on to defend his fellow Cabinet member, forwarded the offering to Califano. "What a



Califano wielding his gift

hell of a thing," said Joe. "To find that the guy who is going to help you stay out of jail has sent you a hacksaw."

Conductor **Eugene Ormandy** and his Philadelphia Orchestra will soon celebrate 80th birth-

days, and one of them has decided that it's time to stop the music—or at least slow the tempo. The Hungarian-born Ormandy said that next season, his 45th, will be his last. Guest Conductor **Riccardo Muti**, 37, is expected to take the baton, while Ormandy, who built the Philadelphia into what critics have called "the solid gold Cadillac of orchestras," will slide behind the wheel occasionally. "My association with the artists and musicians of the orchestra has been my life," he said. "I could not imagine any but a gradual lessening of this close affiliation."

"And now, heereee's—would you believe?—**Kermit the Frog**!" That's who was sitting in for *Tonight Show* host **Johnny Carson** on guest Monday. Kermit not only filled Carson's familiar chair, he even did a Caronesque monologue, welcomed the likes of **Miss Piggy** and **Vincent Price** and badnaged so gaily with **Ed McMahon** that the second banana later confessed: "I swear to God, I thought I was talking to a frog." Kermit and friends did the gig to plug their upcoming *The Muppet Movie*. But with NBC President **Fred Silverman** urging Carson to spruce up the show for ratings' sake and speculation that Carson might decide to leave it instead, could "The Mighty Kermit Players" be waiting in the wings?



Raffin psyching for Hayward role



Kermit the Frog and Second Banana McMahon on the *Tonight Show*



A jitterbug contest at a Hollywood canteen, with Andrews Sisters look-alikes, and confrontation between John Belushi and Toshiro Mifune

## Show Business

### Animal House Goes to War

Steven Spielberg makes 1941, a "stupidly outrageous" film

"Comedy is not my forte. I don't know how this movie will come out. And yes, I'm scared. I'm like the Cowardly Lion, and two successes back to back have not strengthened my belief in my ability to deliver." Surely that Cowardly Lion can't be Director Steven Spielberg, whose blockbusters, *Jaws* and *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*, have already grossed \$630 million. It is, however, and he has an explanation for his chattering teeth: "All the movies I've made are different. *Jaws* was not like *Close Encounters*, and neither has any bearing on 1941."

As far as a visitor to the set can see, 1941 has no bearing on any other film, and certainly no bearing on 1941 as the history books have recorded it. "We're taking history and bending it like a pretzel," says Spielberg. "I would use the words stupidly outrageous to describe this movie. It's really a celebration of paranoia. I hope that you'll come away saying that hypertension is fun."

Spielberg's big pretzel is bent in Los Angeles on the night of Dec. 13, 1941, six days after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The city is engulfed by the fear of invasion, and it is hard to separate the real paranoids from the merely cautious. A sergeant (Dan Aykroyd) steals a tank and starts a banquet by zapping the brightly lit Santa Claus decorations on Hollywood Boulevard. A crazy pilot (John Belushi) flies a P-40 fighter-bomber to search for enemy aircraft, but succeeds only in creating panic below. A riot breaks out between native whites and Chicano zoot suiters, and General Joseph Stilwell—yes, the General Joseph Stilwell (Robert Stack)—is in charge of restoring order. Meantime, a periscope, looking suspiciously like the snout of a shark, pokes out of the Pacific, and a sub-



Stilwell (Robert Stack) in command

Bending a pretzel and stealing a tank

marine commanded by Toshiro Mifune slithers toward shore. Oh, my God! The Japanese! Then... but Spielberg refuses to reveal the rest, other than to say he hopes it is funny. In other words, *Animal House* meets John Wayne, and just about any war flick of the '40s.

The sets, including a fancy art deco U.S.O. dance hall, all look real, and a few of the facts are real. A lone Japanese submarine did bombard the California coast not long after Pearl Harbor, and a kind of panic resulted. There were also zoot-suit riots in Los Angeles, but they did not occur until later on, and it was not Stilwell who put them down (though he commanded the Third Corps at Monterey in the early days of the war). Spielberg has simply brought everything together in one mad moment. Says he: "It's about a week

where everybody put his worst fears and dreams together."

Spielberg began working on the picture before *Close Encounters*. His pal John Milius (*The Wind and the Lion*) brought around two young writers with their script about the California invasion scare. "I gagged on it," Spielberg recalls, "but I was loopy. When a script is so funny that you gag, that's really the kiss of death because it usually doesn't film that way." But when Milius backed out he took it on. Robert Zemeckis and Bob Gale, the scriptwriters, flew to the *Close Encounters* location in Alabama and the three would rearrange schemes and characters. Says Spielberg: "I was being dragged helplessly through the streets by this crazy script."

The budget is a little crazy too, up \$4 million from the original \$20 million because of the stunts and Spielberg's quest for perfection. "The most expensive habit in the world is celluloid, not heroin, and I need a fix every few years," says Spielberg, 31, who neither smokes, drinks, nor touches all those drugs that are served like hors d'oeuvres at Hollywood parties. But then Spielberg and his live-in companion for the past three years, Actress Amy Irving (*Voices*), hardly ever go out. Most of the time they stay in their house in Coldwater Canyon, and when they do eat out, they like ordinary junk food. Spielberg turns up his nose at "quality pizza," for example. "I like pizza that curls at the edge like Aladdin's shoes."

Milius says that there is a "wonderful innocence to Steven," and it seems to be true. Adds Milius: "We don't take ourselves seriously. We're just a bunch of stupid kids making toys." Spielberg doesn't go quite that far, but he doesn't mind being called a "popcorn" director. "It's what I've chosen to do," he says. "I like to see people jump out of their seats. In that sense, I'm as much of a whore as the vaudevillians were, and proud of it." ■



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## Milestones

**MARRIED.** Patricia Campbell Hearst, 25, heiress, kidnaper victim and convicted bank robber; and **Bernard Shaw**, 33, a burly cop who was her bodyguard before she went to jail; she for the first time, he for the second; in San Francisco.

**MARRIED.** Rod Stewart, 34, roistering British rock star with a penchant for blonds, including Actress Britt Ekland, who sued him for more than \$15 million after they separated; and **Alana Collins Hamilton**, 33, a blond actress divorced from Actor George Hamilton; he for the first time, she for the second; in Beverly Hills.

**DIED.** Gordon Parks Jr., 44, black photographer and film maker (*Super Fly*, *Thomazine & Bushrod*) who followed in the footsteps of his famous father, **LIFE** Photojournalist and Film Director Gordon Parks; in a plane crash near Nairobi, where he was directing a new film.

**DIED.** Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, 51, former Prime Minister of Pakistan; by hanging; in Rawalpindi, Pakistan (see **WORLD**).

**DIED.** Amir Abbas Hoveida, 60, for 13 years (1965-77) Iran's Prime Minister and the Shah's closest adviser; before a firing squad; in Tehran. Hoveida presided over Iran's "White Revolution" of land reform and modernization in the mid-1960s but was arrested in November 1978 on the Shah's orders on suspicion of corruption. An Islamic court found him guilty of corruption, heroin smuggling, spying for the U.S., and "Zionism."

**DIED.** Carroll Rosenbloom, 72, flamboyant owner of the Los Angeles Rams professional football team; by drowning; in the surf off Golden Beach, Fla. Rosenbloom parlayed a small Virginia denim factory into a \$175 million-a-year business before buying a share of football's Baltimore Colts in 1953. He saw the Colts win four league championships and the 1971 Super Bowl, in 1972 swapped them for the Rams, who won six consecutive division titles but never a Super Bowl. Gruff and outspoken, he tangled often with league officials, local politicians and coaches but was scrupulously fair to his players, giving them loans and savvy investment counsel.

**DIED.** Edgar Buchanan, 76, veteran character actor in nearly 100 films, most of them grade-B westerns, who won his widest recognition as Uncle Joe in TV's *Petticoat Junction*; of complications following brain surgery; in Palm Desert, Calif.

**DIED.** Max Conrad, 76, the "flying grandfather" who set six distance and endurance records in the air, in his sleep, in Summit, N.J. In 1950, to visit his wife and their nine children in Europe, Conrad soled in a tiny Piper Pacer from New York to Geneva. Hooked by the fame that followed, he made nearly 200 transoceanic flights in small planes.

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# Education

## Looking Out for No. 1

*For blacks on campus, separatism yields to careerism*

For the first time since the U.S. invasion of Cambodia nine years ago, officials at Dartmouth College had to cancel classes in response to student protest. The chief issue: charges of racism by Dartmouth's black students and other minorities, who hurled black and red paint at the traditional Winter Carnival Ice Sculpture. "Without tearing something up or hurting someone," said Black Student Leader Donald O'Bannon, "it was the most dramatic thing we could do."

Some of the causes of the trouble were specific—demands for more tenured black professors, charges that the

with the "Stokely generation" of committed activism. Black students, like their white counterparts, say the social issue of the moment is not making the world better, but simply making it. Observes Victoria Rosser, a University of Georgia junior: "Unless something helps them get a better job, they're not going to engage in it. People are just looking out for No. 1."

More blacks are attending college now than ever, 1.1 million, or more than triple the number in 1966. One out of nine college students in the U.S. is black, double the level in 1966 and nearly the same as the proportion of blacks in the U.S. population as a whole. In families with incomes from \$10,000 to \$15,000, a higher percentage of blacks (21%) goes to college nowadays than whites (17%).

One casualty of the job crunch and changing student mood is the Afro-American studies department, the creation of which was often one of the chief demands of campus militants. "Curriculum demands now run to courses like How to Operate Businesses in the Black Community," says William Banks, Afro-American studies chairman at Berkeley. At Harvard there are only ten Afro-American studies majors this year. Reports Eugene Matthews, a black in Harvard's class of 1980: "I was told not to take many black studies courses because law schools don't look favorably on them." Black studies programs still flourish at a few universities, where departments have been well funded, courses well taught and students willing to work.

Outright racial clashes have disappeared at most colleges. A number of blacks have won notable acceptance. Senior Willie McLondon, star tailback of the University of Georgia Bulldogs, was elected to the Sphinx, a previously all-white secret honor society; and Georgia Senior Tommy Haugabook was voted student-body vice president. Yet blacks often still room together, dine together, play together and together endure virtual exclusion from white fraternities, sororities and other campus activities. Whites complain that blacks even vote together in blocs to elect black campus leaders or black homecoming queens. Separatism may be on the wane, but separation—partly voluntary, partly imposed by the white student majority—lives on.

Blacks also contend with a steady undercurrent of petty insults. At Harvard the sign in front of the Afro-American studies building was stolen so many times that it finally had to be moved indoors. The two black women undergraduates in a government course were upset when

their instructor repeatedly returned papers of one of the blacks to the other. "As far as the instructor was concerned, I was her," recalls one of the students. Harvard's black dean of students, Archie C. Epps III, glumly reports: "You can say that a code of conduct exists between white and black that says, 'We're going to coexist and call that integration.'"

A look at race relations at a representative group of other major campuses:

**CORNELL** (11,300 students, 600 black). A cross-burning incident helped inspire the black students' 1969 seizure of Willard Straight Hall; last year a cross was burned on the lawn of a black dormitory, but the reaction was far milder: the short-lived Student Alliance Against Racism blockaded the Johnson Art Museum for 90 minutes. Scholarship money is tight at Cornell, as at an increasing number of



1969: Armed demonstration at Cornell

*A code that says we'll coexist...*

black studies program is too meager, pressure on Dartmouth to sell its stock in corporations with holdings in South Africa. Beyond that was a sense that minority students were isolated. At an all-campus meeting, Dartmouth President John Kemeny felt compelled to assure minority students, who make up 10% of Dartmouth's 4,000 enrollment, "This college cares deeply about you."

Ten years after blacks at Cornell captured national attention by brandishing rifles following their occupation of Willard Straight Hall, the sense of racial isolation continues. Today, though, the activism of Dartmouth blacks seems a bit anachronistic. TIME reporters who recently visited a score of the nation's colleges found that campus militancy and the idea of black separatism have passed



1979: Defacing sculpture at Dartmouth

*...and call that integration.*

other schools, and black students fear there is less interest in poor applicants. Observes Economics Major Curtis MacMillan, active in several of Cornell's black student organizations: "In the '60s, Cornell recruited blacks off the streets of Harlem and Chicago's South Side; now they go to Shaker Heights."

**KENT STATE** (18,300 students, 1,300 black). A year before National Guardsmen shot demonstrating white students, black Kent State undergraduates marched for, and won, a number of major concessions. Chief among them was the creation of a black studies program, which is still flourishing. It enrolls 450 students and offers 23 courses, including the African Yoruba and Kiswahili languages, as well as five special sections of English for minorities.

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## Education

**MISSOURI** (23,000 students, 700 black). Walter Daniel, the black vice chancellor at Missouri's Columbia campus, describes the place as "inhospitable" to blacks. University President James Olson admits that the atmosphere at Missouri is marred by "covert racism." Not long ago the school's 13 white sororities were scandalized when Anita Estell, a black who had been student-body president of her Decatur, Ill., high school, signed up for rush week. "I never really realized I was black until I came to U.M.C.," Anita recalls. "Nobody wanted to be the first sorority to pledge a black woman."

**UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS** at Austin (42,000 students, 992 black). At the largest university in the South the number of black students has tripled since 1972, but it remains relatively small, and only 20 blacks serve on the 1,800-member faculty. "This university simply isn't interested in black affairs," laments John Warfield, 42, director of Texas' Center for African and Afro-American Studies. That seems to apply to blacks themselves. Explains Warfield: "Some black parents are saying to their kids, 'Stay away from that black stuff at school. You can't eat it.'"

**STANFORD** (11,000 students, 540 black). This academic year, over the opposition of minority students, the Stanford Medical School abolished a special admissions committee that processed minority applications. Students fear a further decline in black enrollment at the graduate level, down from 256 in 1973 to 183 this year. But the Supreme Court's decision supporting white Medical School Applicant Allan Bakke has discouraged protest. "Sign carrying would be sort of after the fact now," says one Stanford student. "I guess we'll just have to see how the new plan works."

Beset by shortages of funds, the nation's colleges are finding special programs for minorities increasingly difficult to maintain. Not only are the costs and the legality of many minority-helping programs receiving new scrutiny, but there is a new uncertainty over their educational justification. Where once it seemed a school's moral duty to admit disadvantaged applicants, now the failure to discriminate between qualified and unqualified members of minority groups is widely denounced as harmful to the students, as well as to education generally. Where once it seemed crucial for previously all-white universities to bolster blacks' sense of their own racial history and culture and to make whites aware of it, today many of the black students resent what in practice swiftly became ghettoized academic offerings.

But some black students still say they are searching for a black cultural identity. As one 17-year-old puts it: "I suppose the black man's struggle is eventually to gain equal standing in this predominantly white country without at the same time becoming a carbon copy of the white man." ■

## Bok's Broadside

### Harvard vs. divestiture

"**T**he divestiture movement is developing into the Viet Nam issue of the late 1970s," says exiled black South African Dennis Brutus, professor of English at Northwestern, and a leader of the campaign to get universities to ditch stock of companies doing business in South Africa. The universities of Massachusetts and Wisconsin, among others, have responded to student demands that such stock be sold to protest South Africa's apartheid policies, while debate over the issue has caused demonstrations at Princeton, Stanford and Columbia. But in an open letter to students last week, Harvard President Derek Bok presented his university's objections to divestiture.



President Derek Bok

"Widely disputed on its merits."

For Harvard to divest (\$300 million, or about 30% of its portfolio involves companies with business connections in South Africa), Bok said there would have to be proof that the action would help overcome apartheid, persuade American firms to leave South Africa, and offer more encouragement to black workers than the alternative policy of pressing companies at stockholder meetings to improve treatment of black workers. "Harvard has declared its opposition to the South African regime," said Bok, "and has pledged itself to vote on shareholder resolutions in the manner best calculated to overcome apartheid." Calling this course "the most ethically responsible," Bok referred to legal problems facing portfolio managers who buy and sell on political rather than financial grounds. Said he: "Total divestment would almost certainly cause the university to divert millions of dollars in pursuit of a strategy that is legally questionable, widely disputed on its merits, and very likely to prove ineffective in achieving its objectives." ■



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# Cinema



Talia Shire in *Old Boyfriends*

## Revenger's Tale

OLD BOYFRIENDS

Directed by Joan Tewkesbury  
Screenplay by Paul Schrader and  
Leonard Schrader

A year after her marriage has broken up, Diane (Talia Shire) inexplicably finds herself breaking down. She sets forth on a therapeutic cross-country journey in search of her old boyfriends. At first it seems she wants to gain insight into her illness by re-examining past relationships. It turns out, though, that she is more concerned with gaining revenge: the other sex, she feels, has ill-used her.

Her first encounter is with a nice chap (Richard Jordan) whose wife has just deserted him. Diane has no difficulty in re-kindling old feelings, but she cannot resist deserting him, too. Next she looks up the parody stud (John Belushi) who sexually humiliated her in high school, and finds a way of getting even. At her final destination she finds not an old flame (he has been killed in Viet Nam) but his almost psychotic younger brother (Keith Carradine), who has taken the blame for his brother's death on himself. Diane lures him into a sexual relationship that is enough to break his tenuous hold on sanity. It also seems to purge the last of her anguish and she returns home to find Jordan (and mental health) awaiting her.

It must be admitted that on some primitive dramatic level *Old Boyfriends* works. We care about Diane, mostly because Shire is capable of engendering a great deal of sympathetic concern, there

is intelligence and vulnerability in her every expression. But there are jarring contradictions in this movie. The worst lies in the sweetness of Shire's manner and the brutal actions required of her by a confused script. The Belushi character perhaps deserves what happens to him, but the sequence is so farcically overstated that it is not much more than a mistake in tone. The rape of Carradine's sanity is not so easily dismissed. It cannot be integrated with the decently questing character Shire has developed. We do not believe this woman is so desperate, or that she has an adequate excuse for her destructive behavior. It is also hard to accept the ending. Why should Jordan, having been treated with such casual cruelty, come back for more? What makes him think that Diane has changed? It all seems like a desperate reach for an upbeat conclusion.

This uneasiness is a common response to films Paul Schrader (*Blue Collar*, *Hardcore*) has a hand in. They always begin as intriguing notions, but Schrader is willing to sell out themes, characterization, simple dramatic logic in order to serve up a socko scene or a happy ending. One guesses that here the producer and co-writer started out to make a trendy feminist tract about taking just revenge on male inadequacy, then found that Diane desperately needed humanization. Star and director obliged, but the result is an incoherent mess.

—Richard Schickel

## Look-Alike

VOICES

Directed by Robert Markowitz  
Screenplay by John Herzfeld

Whatever one thinks of *Rocky*, it has not had a salutary effect on the movie business. The film made America safe for modest, old-fashioned tearjerkers, and Hollywood opened the floodgates. *Voices* is the latest in a chain of look-alike films. Even in this shoddy barrel of batons, *Voices* is near the bottom.

John Herzfeld's screenplay concerns Drew Rothman (Michael Ontkean of *Slap Shot*), a Jewish delivery boy in Hoboken, N.J., and Rosemarie Lemon (Amy Irving of *The Fury*), a deaf teacher who wins the hero's heart. Drew wants to be a singer. Rosemarie wants to be a dancer, and they both want to be in love. There are obstacles along the path to a happy ending. Rosemarie's stern mom (Viveca Lindfors) feels that deaf people should stick to their own kind. Drew must act as keeper for both his gambling dad (Alex Rocco) and his ne'er-do-well kid brother (Barry Miller). Meanwhile, agents are not breaking down the doors to offer the young lovers performing contracts.

It is difficult to believe this story or to care about it. Although Drew and Rose-

marie are adults, their relationship is founded on nothing but abject puppy love. Their careers are scarcely more interesting than their emotions. Drew aspires only to be a middle-of-the-road pop star along the lines of Barry Manilow. Rosemarie is not so much a ballerina as a fledgling Broadway chorus girl. Were this team to make it, they would still never amount to much more than the Captain and Tennille.

Though every plot point is established roughly three times, Herzfeld's script is riddled with holes. He asks us to believe that Drew would record a make-or-break audition song in a coin-operated "Record-O-Graph" booth, without musical accompaniment, just because his cassette machine was broken. Later the hero lands a star gig at a disco by sheer happenstance. The dialogue is full of howlers, including a number of lines inexplicably built around meat imagery. At times *Voices* sounds like the first half of the Larry Gelbart-Sheldon Keller satirical script for *Movie Movie*—played straight.

Robert Markowitz's direction, which puts great stock in mushy dissolves, is slightly below the level of a TV perfume commercial. Whenever the action trails off, he brings on a Jimmy Webb theme song that sounds like a cross between *You Light Up My Life* and *I Will Wait for You* from *The Umbrellas of Cherbourg*. Stars Irving and Ontkean can be vibrant actors, but Markowitz straitjackets them into cutie-pie poses. If Irving comes off the better of the two, it is because of her character's affliction. Somehow silly dialogue does not seem quite so embarrassing when it is relayed in sign language.

—Frank Rich



Amy Irving in *Voices*  
Puppy love in Hoboken.

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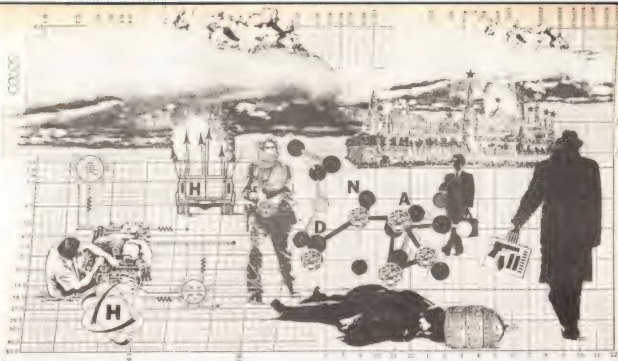
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## Books

### Malice in Wonderland

*Atomic and genetic skulduggery is hijacked by amateurs*

**F**iction can anticipate fact. The cold war, espionage and terrorist novels of the past 20 years were often uncannily predictive: their plots now seem too true to be good. Technology is today's hot pistol, and it is in the hands of the amateur. It may be possible, for example, to heist plutonium and fashion bombs to hold the world hostage. Private scientists might produce gene-altering chemicals. Almost any handyman can assemble a plastic weapon aimed at a Prime Minister or a whole city block. It is almost a natural consequence that in fiction, the old-line security bureaucracies, from CIA to KGB to MI6, are being outrun by freelancers.

As in the classic English recipe beginning "First catch two dozen trout," the principal challenge to the do-it-yourself bombmaker is the snaring of radioactive material. In *Z Warning*, by Dan Oran and Lonn Hoklin (Ballantine; 336 pages; \$8.95), the snatch—80 kilos of plutonium dioxide—is executed with lethal efficiency. The gang that pulls the job has its fusion in a Western mental hospital. There the principals—a deranged young Texas millionaire, a female Japanese physicist suffering from Nagasaki syndrome and a dishonorably discharged black Vietvet—first pool their malignant talents. The group's nuclear capability is channeled by an ambitious *éminence blonde*, mistress of a powerful and power-hungry U.S. Sen-

ator, in an attempt to plunge the nation into panic and bestow dictatorial powers on him/her.

Scientists pooh-pooh the notion that a ragtag team can transform  $\text{PuO}_2$  powder into bombs. But a senatorial aide, Kelly Gilliam, assisted by the Senator's daughter, puts two and  $E=mc^2$  together and sets out to crack the conspiracy. The couple have to outwit the feds, who spend more time trying to defuse Kelly than the backyard armorers. In the end, on time, a mushroom cloud over Chesapeake Bay provides the adventure with a fissionable finale. Authors Oran and Hoklin, who have both served as congressional aides, do a Capitol job of describing the suites and sours of D.C. The atomic mechanics seem even more plausible: Dan Oran's wife is a nuclear physicist.

In Graham Lancaster's *The Nuclear Letters* (Atheneum; 233 pages; \$8.95), a comparable quantity of hot material (plutonium-239) is lifted in 1972 from the Government's vast storage center in Washington State. Thereafter, a series of warnings descends on Western heads of state. Each communiqué threatens retaliation with four implosion devices if the respective addressees intervene in the affairs of states ranging from Uganda to Zaïre. Where do the letters come from? What nation or individual has the bombs? In what cause?

As English Author Lancaster's smooth account unfolds, British and American intelligence trace a key intermediary to Cairo. An oleaginous wheeler-dealer named Schuyler Katz had masterminded the plutonium heist. Enter the amateur: Neil Janner, a handsome, high-living, tax-evasive Harley Street dentist. Why a dentist? Because the Londoner has regular appointments to service Katz's cavities in Cairo. Under heavy Anglo-American pressure, he agrees to go through the motions of removing a wisdom tooth from Katz after injecting his patient with sodium pentothal, the so-called truth drug. The extraction of molar and information is supervised by Helen Gull, a wickedly efficient CIA agent.

Next in line for the adroit dentist and his new partner-nurse is Ahmed al Hata, an albino Arab, pink-eyed and sickly white in a world of swarthy machismo. With surprising ease, Janner and Gull, lovers by now, manage a dental appointment with the reclusive master plotter. A booper is implanted in his bridgework, and London intelligence soon learns that al Hata has planted the vaulted bombs somewhere in West Berlin.

That information also is the real plant, devised by the KGB. In fact, there are no bombs. The plutonium has never gone beyond a burial place in the White Mountains of New Hampshire. The Soviets' scheme is to take over West Berlin without firing a shot. Warned in cozy amity by Moscow that it has learned of the impending devastation, the allied governments withdraw all civilians from the zone and start pulling out every last NATO

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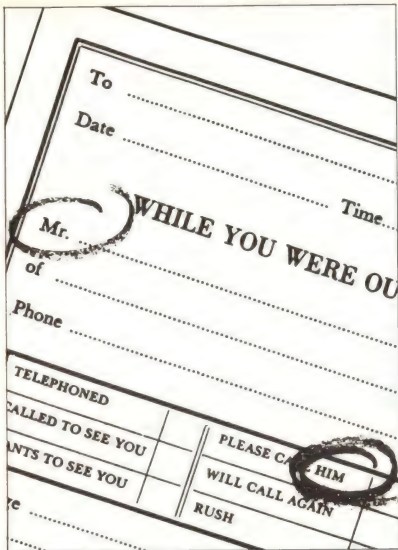


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## Books

soldier, leaving the city naked for the plucking. A credible, unnerving story that should make every reader leery of even the most innocent-looking New Hampshire hillside.

More worrisome to some than home-baked bombs is the work being done at biological warfare research stations. In *The Empty House* (Harper & Row, 245 pages; \$9.95), a secretive genius named Alexander Wolfe has concluded that a chromosome-cracking solution dropped in a small nation's water supply could produce a generation of mindless freaks. No one knows how far Dr. Wolfe has gone in his research, or is likely to find out: his car was seen plunging off a cliff in southwestern England. Enter the amateur, in this



Graham Lancaster

*Who has the bombs? Why a dentist?*

case Insurance Investigator Peter Manciple, who knows Devonshire like the back of his hand: he attended public school there, and was dubbed "Mathematics" Manciple by one professor. Sleuth is soon convinced that scientist is on the lam.

So, too, are the British army, the Devonshire constabulary and rival nests of Israeli and Arab guerrillas intent on defanging Wolfe's research. They all converge on Manciple, who alone seems to have the clues. The highlight of the book is a chase scene across Exmoor that is as thrilling as John Buchan's *Thirty-Nine Steps*. Michael Gilbert, a distinguished English lawyer the wrote Raymond Chandler's will and prolific mystery author (19 novels to date), has never written with greater wit or ingenuity. He should bring back the new Math immediately.

The central figure of *The Hadrian Ransom* (Putnam, 275 pages; \$9.95) wins this year's award for Most Unusual Kid-

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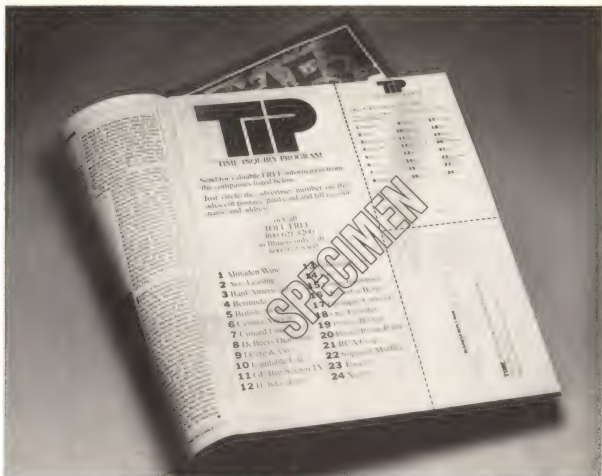
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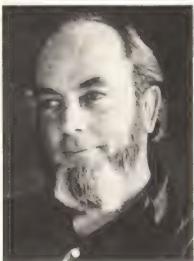


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## Books



Allan Duane

napee: Pope Hadrian IX. The holy heist in Allan Duane's psychological thriller has been planned by three disgruntled Americans and Rosella Asti, daughter of Italy's Ambassador to Washington. While the whole civilized world weeps and prays, the intricately plotted caper goes as smoothly as a sacrament—until the Red Brigades horn in on the action and the \$4 million ransom money. The hero in the end is *il Papa*, a man of great energy, guile and charity. When it is not delivering adrenal suspense, Duane's book can double as a tourist's guide to offbeat Roma.

The Pope is a hard kidnap to follow. Hijacking the Kremlin is about the only plot outrageous enough—and that is precisely what a band of Russian dissidents sets out to do in David Lippincott's *Salt Mine* (Viking; 333 pages, \$10.95). Led by the mysterious Alyosha Gregarin and funded by the World Jewish Alliance, am-

ateurs of every faith and skill capture the Kremlin's Oruzheinaya Palata, taking hostage some 50 tourists and the sacred corpse of Lenin. Author Lippincott, who admits to having had "some intelligence connections," knows his Moscow and the schizoid style of its new aristocracy, the Politburocrats.

He also knows how to lighten suspense with satire. The book's grim five-day siege is softened throughout by memorable set-pieces. At one vodka-high point, captive Russian tourists and a bunch of Yale alumni swap song for song, while American wives instruct their captors in the Hustle. In another, bone-weary Alyosha beds a beautiful Intourist guide in Czarna Elizabeth I's Petersburg sled. Outside, in tune to the jouncing springs, a group of toasting Russians rhythmically applauds the lovers' vigor. For such flamboyant scenes and scenery, the saline *Salt Mine* deserves an ovation of its own.

The amateur in Victor Canning's *Birdcage* (Morrow; 233 pages; \$8.95) is a



Victor Canning

young ex-copper handling his first major assignment for British intelligence. In fact, he is made to walk two sides of the street, London's Birdcage Walk, home of a covert security operation. Kerslake, as he is called—when treating of the lower classes, the English seldom assign first names—is sent to Portugal to investigate Sarah Branton, who is most definitely U. Sarah has spent eight years in a nunnery and has been saved from a suicidal drowning attempt by Richard Farley, a charming drifter of the sort that only the shires and Kenya can produce.

Kerslake, posing as a family solicitor, has a triple assignment: informing Sarah of her post-convent financial affairs; reporting on her current *affaire* with Farley and tracking down, on the privy instruction of the sinister Lord Bellmaster, any records that might be damaging to his ambitious lordship (he expects to be named Ambassador to Washington).

Kerslake does not find the evidence. But Farley stumbles on a diary: Lord Bellmaster's, it turns out, is Sarah's true father. Having impregnated the wanton Lady Jean, milord bribed an impecunious army officer to marry the gal. Lady Jean's memoir also records in damning detail Bellmaster's murders of two accomplices. Intelligence, fearful of security leakage, gives Kerslake a license to kill.

Canning, one of the very best of the English thriller writers, with 35 titles to his credit, combines suspense with romance, erudition and sardonic wit. He also reveals hard facts about some soft under-Bellies of Britain. —Michael Demarest

## Editors' Choice

**FICTION:** Birdy, William Wharton  
Dubin's Lives, Bernard Malamud  
Fielder's Choice, edited by Jerome Holtzman • Good as Gold, Joseph Heller • SS-GB, Len Deighton • The Best American Short Stories 1978, edited by Ted Solotaroff • The Flounder, Günter Grass

**NONFICTION:** A Distant Mirror, Barbara W. Tuchman • Albert Camus, Herbert R. Lottman  
American Singers, Whitney Balliett  
In Memory Yet Green, Isaac Asimov  
The Habit of Being: Letters of Flannery O'Connor, edited by Sally Fitzgerald • The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt, Edmund Morris • To Build a Castle—My Life as a Dissenter, Vladimir Bukovsky

## Best Sellers

### FICTION

1. Overload, Hailey (1 last week)
2. War and Remembrance, Wouk (2)
3. Good as Gold, Heller (6)
4. The Matarese Circle, Ludlum (4)
5. Chesapeake, Michener (3)
6. SS-GB, Deighton (5)
7. The Stories of John Cheever, Cheever (7)
8. Hanta Yo, Hill (10)
9. Dubin's Lives, Malamud (8)
10. Evergreen, Plain (9)

### NONFICTION

1. Lauren Bacall by Myself, Bacall (2)
2. The Complete Scarsdale Medical Diet, Tarnower & Baker (1)
3. How to Prosper During the Coming Bad Years, Ruff (3)
4. Sophia, Living and Loving, Hitchner (5)
5. Mommie Dearest, Crawford (4)
6. Linda Goodman's Love Signs, Goodman (7)
7. American Caesar, Manchester (8)
8. A Distant Mirror, Tuchman (6)
9. The Complete Book of Running, Flax
10. How to Get Whatever You Want Out of Life, Brothers



David Lippincott

"First catch two dozen trout."

# Press

Newsweek/Thomas Griffith

## The Powerless Powerful

*Do not be deluded into believing that the titular heads of the networks control what appears on their networks. They all have better taste.*

—Edward R. Murrow

Among the media lords, William S. Paley is senior, successful and powerful, having built CBS into a giant with \$3 billion in revenues and a payroll of 37,000. He watched over the growth of CBS News, the domain of Murrow and Cronkite, into the best newsgathering service in radio and television. Executives who make \$500,000 a year tremble at his displeasure. Yet just how powerful, by his own lights, is this powerful man? The answer says a lot about the alleged power of the press.

In his new autobiography, *As It Happened*, Paley concedes the numbing mediocrity of prime-time television, but confesses that CBS can't do much about it. Instead he proposes that the presidents of the three networks meet and agree to give two hours a week in prime time—six hours in all—to programs that would appeal to "educated, sophisticated tastes more than to the mass audience." But for CBS to do so alone would be "forfeiting the whole night through the domino effect" on the ratings that are basic to "the financial well-being of each network."

ABC and NBC greeted the proposal with hints that Paley is really bothered because CBS has slipped to No. 2. Yet Paley made a similar proposal ten years earlier when CBS was indisputably on top, proud of being "mass with class." Is Paley now out of step at 77? He insists: "In this business at least, one always has to remember that he's not scheduling a network or anything else to please himself; he has to do it in order to please his audience."

To this, Columnist Russell Baker replies that much of what daily newspapers print is also trash: "The difference is that people in the newspaper industry tend to blame themselves for the low-quality stuff while TV executives tend to shift the blame to their audience."

Either way, anybody in the business of pleasing a mass audience—which used to be a simple game of playing hunches but is now codified, computerized and constantly tested by market research—can only by stretching the word be considered powerful. A powerful king could do as he damned well pleased; in France, the capricious Louis XIV has been succeeded by the democratic Giscard d'Estaing, who is allowed only to be crotchety. Networks and newspaper chains are far larger than what William Randolph Hearst ruled, but Hearst was a real press lord and his successors are not. Without radio, television or national newsmagazines to contradict him, Hearst's papers could plead causes or distort events on whim.

Television makes little enough use of its power to form public opinion, and not just because it is running all those sit-



CBS Chairman William Paley

coms. Television in 1948 won the right to editorialize on the air, but, says Paley, "finally we concluded there was no way the network could give editorial opinions on national or international subjects." Why? Because so many of its independently owned affiliates had different political opinions. Paley speaks of "heated arguments" with Ed Murrow, Eric Sevareid and Howard K. Smith about editorializing, which is why your ordinary local late-night radiogabber is a lot freer with his opinions.

Similarly, newspapers, as they become chain owned, are largely content to take the cash and leave crusading to others. It thus becomes harder to fulminate about the power of the press: to defy a trend can be an exercise of power (and of responsibility); latching on to a trend is merely doing business.

There are perhaps only two conspicuous examples of old-fashioned "press-lording" left. The political venom in William Loeb's Manchester *Union Leader* skewers New Hampshire's politics, and even the state's closely watched presidential primary. In Michigan, John P. McGoff fired two editors in his small right-wing chain when they refused to give front-page play to a couple of vicious anti-Carter stories. Last week the government of South Africa admitted that it made available \$11.5 million from a secret slush fund in 1974 during McGoff's unsuccessful attempt to buy the *Washington Star*. Presumably, South Africa hoped to turn the *Star* into a public relations organ for that country's racism. Loeb and McGoff are anachronisms, but hardly powerful.

Strangely, when Paley pleads his own inability as a television lord to make "fuller and better use of this magic form of communications," he does not mention Ed Murrow. They were once close, Paley's one exception to his rule about not socializing with office colleagues. Twenty years ago, in a speech that offended Paley, Murrow proposed a plan similar in some respect to the plan Paley now offers. In a cold war period when Murrow thought the country "in mortal danger," the newsman proposed that each of the 20 or 30 largest corporate advertisers give up one or two of their regular programs each year, turning the time over to networks to present serious public affairs programs on their own. They would be saying, as Murrow put it: "This is a tiny tithe, just a little bit of our profits... to indicate our belief in the importance of ideas." Murrow saw trouble "unless we get up off our fat surpluses and recognize that television in the main is being used to distract, delude, amuse and insulate us." Murrow that night was concerned, gloomy, a little shrill. He said he wasn't proposing to make television a 27-inch walling wall, but his message sounded a bit like that. The power that Murrow wanted media lords like Paley to exercise is exactly the kind they are resolved not to use.



Panax President John McGoff



# 5 MILES A DAY KEEPS THE DOCTOR AWAY.

Mavis Lindgren had been subject to colds all her life. At two she had whooping cough, at 13 tuberculosis, and until middle age she was afflicted by chest colds that turned into pneumonia three times.

Then, at age 62, with her doctor's blessing, Mavis started running because she thought it would help her.

Obviously, it has. Now 71, Mavis says, "After I started running I never had another cold. I've been sick once in nine years. I had a real bad flu. I had it for three hours."

Mavis Lindgren and an estimated 10 million other joggers in America feel running keeps them healthy. It's something Blue Cross and Blue Shield Plans believe in, too. We're convinced that people who exercise and stay fit help slow down the rise in health care costs.

Of course, there are other effective ways to fight rising costs besides asking you to stay fit. To do it, we've initiated many programs with doctors and hospitals.

Second surgical opinion, medical necessity programs, home care, health maintenance organizations, same-day surgery, pre-admission testing—these and other programs are being adopted by Blue Cross and Blue Shield Plans all over the country to help keep costs in line.

We're encouraged. The average length of hospital stays for Blue Cross Plan subscribers under age 65 dropped by almost a day between 1968 and 1977. That may not sound like much. But if the length of stay were the same today as it was in 1968, we would be paying an additional \$1,249,869,813 a year. In addition, the rate of hospital admissions for these subscribers dropped by 4.9%, representing \$554,938,847.

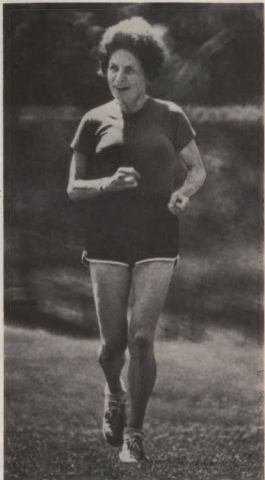
But controlling health care costs without sacrificing quality is a tough problem. One we all have to work on together.

That's why Blue Cross and Blue Shield Plans are actively promoting exercise, fitness and other health programs. Naturally, we'd like you to use common sense, see your doctor and don't overdo it at first.

But if you're concerned about high health care costs, do as Mavis Lindgren and millions of other Americans are doing.

Run away from them.

For a free booklet, "Food and Fitness," or for information on how your company can view a special film, "You Can't Buy Health," write Box 8008, Chicago, IL 60680.



Watch the first telecast of **The Boston Marathon**, made possible by a grant from the Blue Cross and Blue Shield Associations, Monday evening, April 16, on PBS. Check your local TV listing.



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For over 100 years this crystal decanter has had a special spot in the Royal George Tavern in Perth, Scotland. Its charm and beauty haven't been diminished by time.

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